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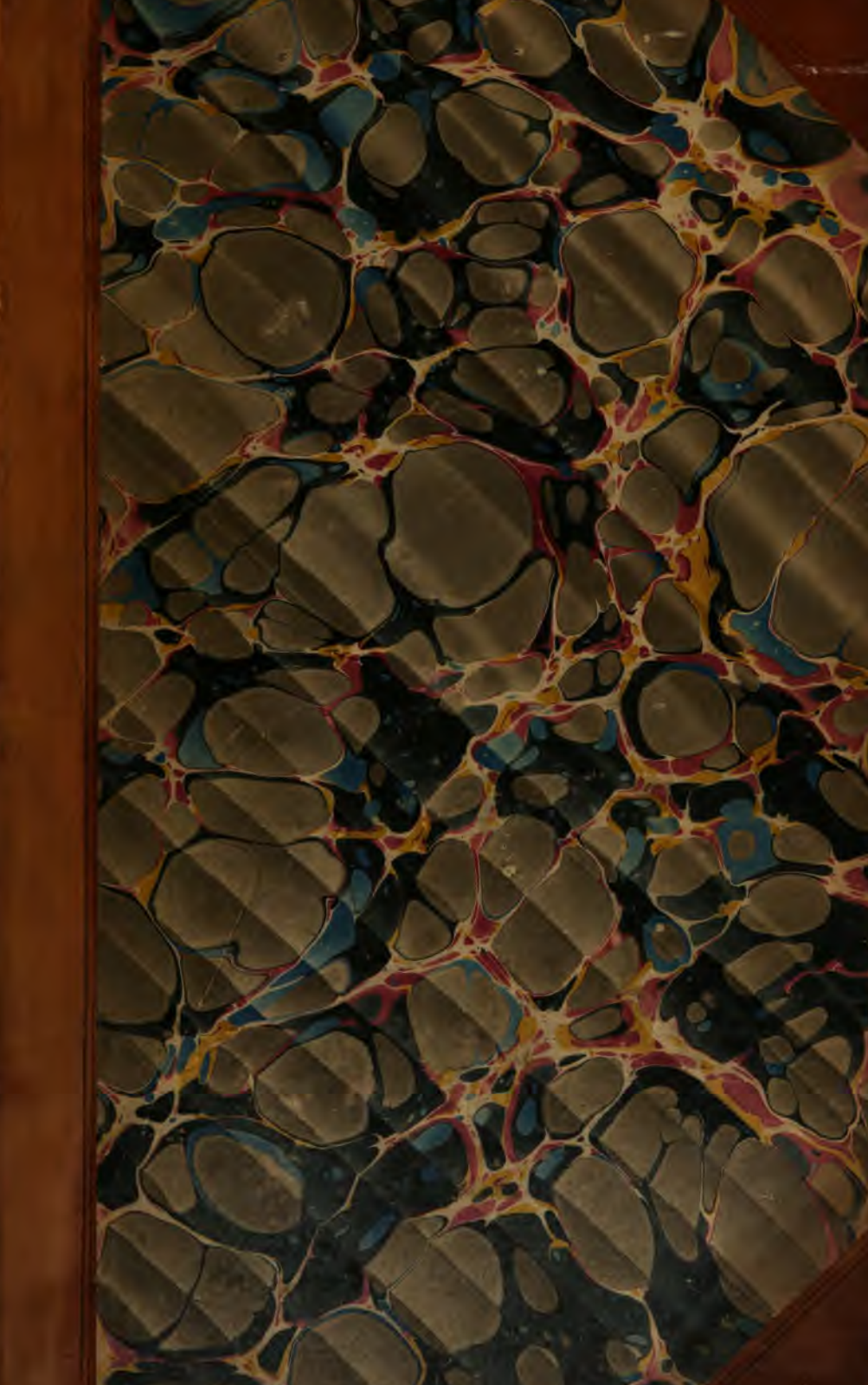
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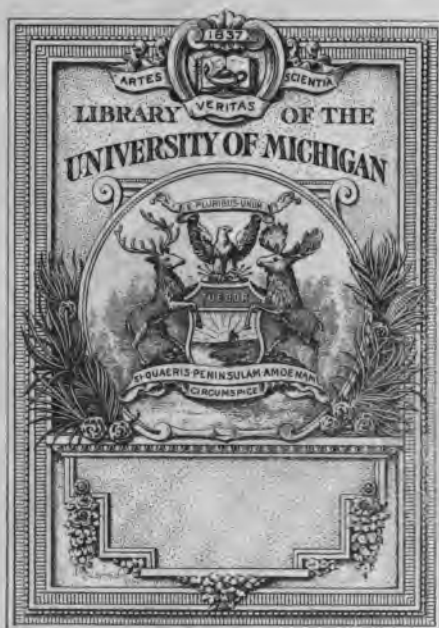
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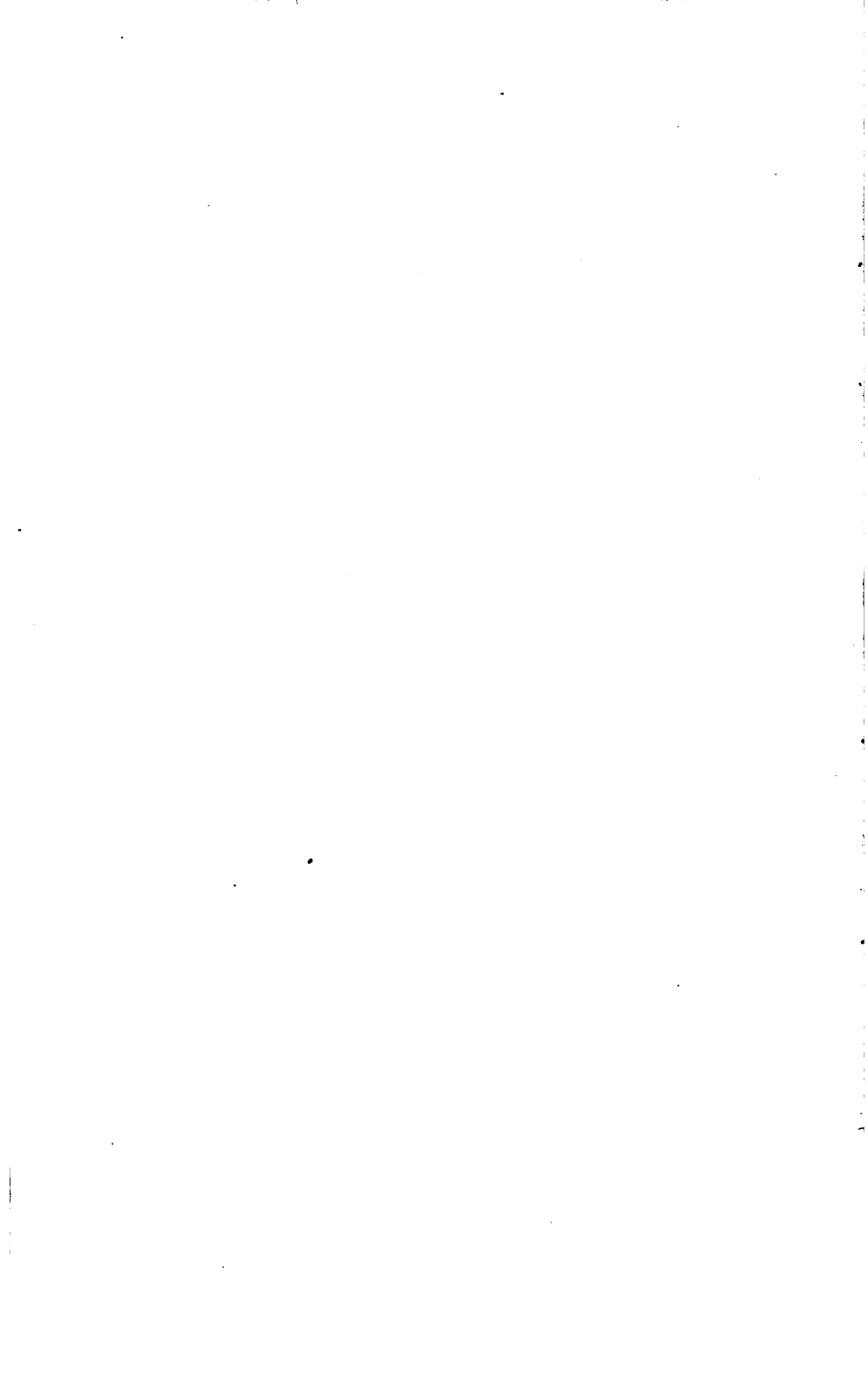




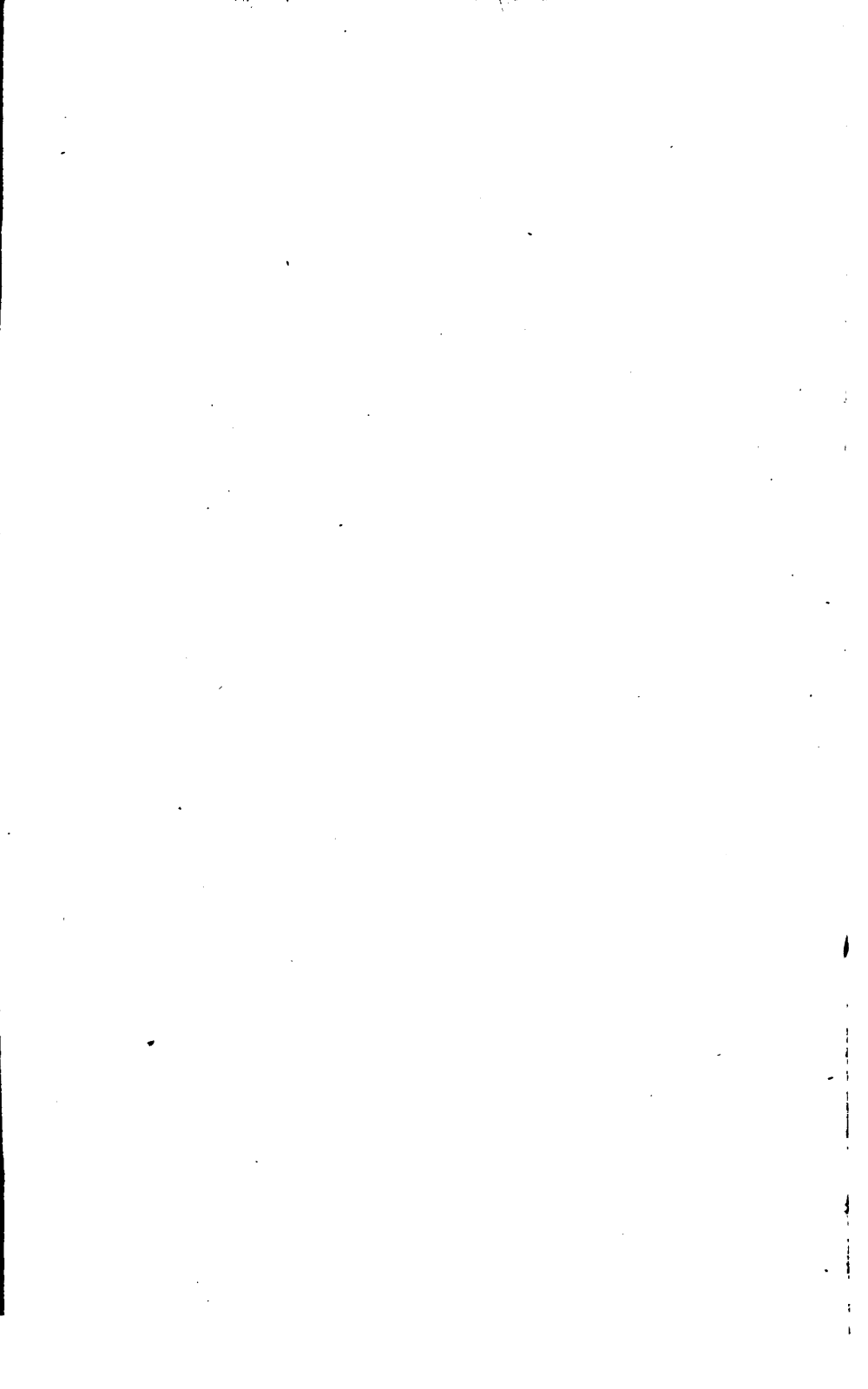
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THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

N<sup>o</sup>. LII.

NEW SERIES — N<sup>o</sup>. XXII.

SEPTEMBER, 1832.

ART. I. — *Householders in Danger from the Populace.* By  
EDWARD GIBBON WAKEFIELD, Esq. Effingham Wilson.  
London. 1831.

THE pamphlet before us presents a picture of the British metropolis almost too horrible for contemplation. According to the statements it contains, nearly one hundred thousand inhabitants in that capital of the world are banded together for the constant and ferocious perpetration of terrible crimes. Over this vast multitude the restraints of civilized life are dissolved. Neither shame, nor conscience, nor punishment has any control. Duty and religion and eternity are equally without influence. One common object excites them. All their efforts are exerted to produce a state of confusion and anarchy, and thereby "to pluck sensual enjoyments in the midst of blood and fire!"

The London "populace," according to this account, is composed of classes, which suppose themselves to have interests at variance with the community, and are "opposed to the protective laws, by which society is upheld." These classes are described to be, first, "common thieves," of whom, the writer says, thirty thousand are always at large in London. Secondly, "the rabble," amounting to fifty thousand more, "whose extreme poverty, frequent unsatisfied hunger and brutalizing pursuits render them as dishonest as thieves." Thirdly, "desperadoes," the disciples of Owen and followers of Hunt, less numerous, but quite as troublesome; men of rather weak intellect, but noisy, egotistical,

and boastful, bent on the overthrow of existing laws, with a view to the formation of a new state of society, in which there shall exist a perfect equality of property, or rather no property at all, as we use the word, but a community of goods. Fourthly, "women of the lowest character," not less than ten thousand, "likely to prove a more effective force on the side of confusion and rapine, than the same number of men."

These classes are represented to be so entirely above the law, that they collect in large numbers without fear of the police; and Mr. Wakefield says, that he saw seven thousand common thieves in various parts of the town on the ninth of November, 1830, when it was expected that the king would visit Guildhall, prepared, in case of a political disturbance, "to sack the town." Yet the police, thus set at nought, we know to be both numerous and active, more than seventy thousand persons having, from one cause or another, been brought within its operations during the past year.

If Mr. Wakefield's statements be entitled to credit, society in London, and by consequence in the whole kingdom of Great Britain, is in the very process of disintegration. Our first inquiry then should be, whether he is worthy of belief; and we confess, that on his own character alone we should hesitate to give him our confidence. That he was confined in Newgate, where persons of his education and capacity are not commonly found, may have given him some unusual means of information; but neither the cause of his imprisonment, nor the imprisonment itself, has inspired us with much respect for his character. We should doubt whether he had those moral qualities that make a witness credible, and may fear, that, having been a sojourner in that perilous place, he abuses our credulity with traveller's fictions, and tells us tales of

"Cannibals that each other eat,  
The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads  
Do grow beneath their shoulders!"

But his statements are not without corroboration. Colquhoun's "Police of London," many years since, apprized us of the existence of a vast fermenting mass of corrupt materials. A treatise on the police and crimes of the metropolis, of which an account was given in our number for November, 1829, increased an apprehension of growing evil; and the ju-

dicial reports and examination of evidence before the commissioners for amending the laws, without letting us so deeply into the history of this depravity, render the account that is given of it in the pamphlet before us, probable in most of its details, and in some of them certainly to be taken as true.

Supposing then that this narration is faithful in its statements, we are not about to call the attention of our readers to it for the sake of exulting at the more fortunate condition of our own communities, or of contrasting "the domestic manners of the Americans," which have recently afforded so much mirth to our English contemporaries, with the dangerous dissoluteness of their refined society. We advert to it for own warning and security. The moral pestilence that visits others, may make an irruption on our shores; and it is our duty to put up what barriers we may against its introduction here, and assist in preserving those which are already erected.

We deem this the more desirable, because there is an unfortunate sympathy between our people and the people of England, which exposes us to evils at any time prevailing among them. Notwithstanding the difference and the distance between us, we often feel the residuum of the shock, the first force of which is there expended. Fashion, dress, expense, and the forms of social intercourse are regulated, in our humble way, by a standard which is there prescribed. This may be accounted for; but opinion, taste, and morals are often subjected to a foreign control, which it is as difficult to explain as resist. If the people in England are uneasy, our people grow restless. If their degraded and half-starved laborers complain, and especially if they do any thing to make their complaints heard, a tone of querulousness is heard here among our respectable and flourishing workmen. If effort is there made for reforming their ancient and decayed establishments, some among us become dissatisfied with the freedom of our thrifty institutions. If abroad there are combinations against established, but oppressive laws, the example is contagious enough to give us trouble, even in the milder form in which the malady presents itself.

It is important, in the first place, to look at some of the causes which have produced the unhappy state of things

that is said to exist. The tendency of the English government is to separate the interests of classes of people from each other, to accumulate the wealth of the rich, and aggravate the poverty of the poor, and this appears to us to be one of the most active causes for the calamity described in Mr. Wakefield's pamphlet.

Great Britain has been, for many years, rapidly advancing in wealth. A commerce of great prosperity, a productive agriculture, and a manufacturing power, whose ingenious machinery seems like a magical substitute for human labor, have increased prodigiously its integral wealth. But how has it been divided? By nothing like the equal or proportionate ratio of the population that acquired it. Vast fortunes have been accumulated, and possessions been multiplied in the hands of the lords of the soil. Great proprietors have increased, because surplus capital has been constantly growing larger; but the small patrimony of the less wealthy has as rapidly decayed, the numbers of the dependent have grown larger, and the ranks of indigence and misery become every day more crowded. Great wealth and great poverty have been the consequences; and each of these brings with itself peculiar dangers to the moral condition of the people. Refinement of manners to a certain extent is undoubtedly one of the truest marks of cultivation and elevation of mind, and is in a good degree the result of those advantages which affluence procures; but when this refinement is stretched, as it may be, into a voluptuous and luxurious sensuality, when it is devoted to a self-indulgence which taxes all the powers of reason to satiate it, when this excessive wealth, though it may throw off some of its superfluity in grand objects of public utility, seems principally devoted to the personal indulgence of its possessors in the utmost extravagance of whatever an effeminate and perverted taste can desire,—the influence of such wealth is destructive to the moral character of the state, and the retributive justice of Providence seems always to punish this misapplication of its bounty, by permitting the community to be cursed with a large harvest of iniquity.

Poverty too, especially when it is general, and more when it is placed in contrast with unmeasured affluence, is a mighty generator of crime. So far as it diminishes education, by abridging the means of it; so far as it prevents the ability

of restraining or regulating the natural growth of the passions ; so far as its necessities lead to acts which a deliberate judgment condemns ; so far as it may seek to fly for relief from the painful consciousness of its present ills to the deceitful insensibility of intoxication ; so far it is the parent and nurse of those numerous vices which gather in its path. Even a partial education under these circumstances may be of doubtful utility. What can it do but sharpen the mind to a knowledge of its own degradation, without furnishing the means of escaping from it ? What can it do but make more keenly felt the strong contrasts that exist in the community, without doing any thing to prove the wisdom or justice of that administration, which permits or has favored them ? What can be expected of it but to render more restless and uneasy all those classes, who find no provision made for them at nature's table, and are not instructed in the lesson, so difficult for any body to learn, that men and women and children are to have a being on the earth on terms less favorable than are possessed by the beasts of the forest ?

When hope is extinguished, when not only present comfort is destroyed, but all prospect of the future is blasted, when the long residue of a man's life and the life of his descendants presents no other condition than labor with a pitiful recompense, and perhaps little chance even for that labor which can alone relieve absolute want, it requires more fortitude than most of us possess, to resist the allurements which promise competency at the expense of honesty ; it demands a noble disposition to make a proper choice between the misery of vice and the misery of starvation.

The English government further appears to us to be a cold and heartless abstraction, entirely distinct from any intimate feeling for the happiness of the people. It is neither conducted by them, nor adapted to them. Its great care is for the crown and its prerogatives, the peerage and its privileges, the wealth of the affluent and the appliances by which it may be enjoyed. Privileged classes are the nation. Other inhabitants of that magnificent empire are but contributors to its magnificence, an amount of physical force necessary for its glory and greatness, but having no more interest to be provided for by it, than any other equal quantity of animal life, which is part of the elements of its strength. We might illustrate our position by a reference to the institu-



tions and laws, to the policy of the government, and its operation on the domestic manners of the people ; but nothing is more conclusive, in our opinion, than the discussion which the proposed reform in the Commons' House of Parliament has occasioned. This discussion, the details of which it is unnecessary to point out, seems to us to take for granted, that hitherto the privileged classes have not only been masters of the state, but the sole objects for whose benefit government must provide. In addition, however, to what may be gathered from the sentiments of speakers on this subject, delivered in this debate, we take occasion to refer to another circumstance, narrated by Captain Basil Hall in a work of his, praised most extravagantly by the Quarterly Review.

"We were rather short-handed in those days, and being in the presence of a blockaded enemy, and liable, at half an hour's warning, to be in action, we could not afford to be very scrupulous as to the ways and means by which our numbers were completed, so that able-bodied men were secured to handle the gun-tackle falls. It chanced one day that we fell in with a ship filled with emigrants, a description of vessel called, in the classical dictionary of the cockpit, an "Irish guineaman." Out of her we pressed twenty Irishmen, besides two strapping fellows from Yorkshire, and one canny Scot.

"Each of this score of Pats was rigged merely in a great-coat, and a pair of something which might be called an apology for inexpressibles ; while the rest of their united wardrobe might have been stowed away in the crown of any one of their hats. Their motives for emigrating to a country where mere health and strength of body are sure to gain an independent provision, were obvious enough ; and I must say, that to this hour I have not been able to forget the melancholy cry or howl with which the separation of these hardy settlers from their families was effected by the strong arm of power. It was a case of necessity, it is true, but still it was a cruel case, and one, for the exercise of which the officer who put it in force deserves almost as much pity as the poor wretches, whose feelings and interests it became his bounden duty to disregard.

"In most admired contrast to this bewildered drove of half-starved Paddies, stood the two immense, broad-shouldered, high-fed Yorkshiremen, dressed in long-tailed coats, corduroy breeches, and yellow-topped boots, each accompanied by a chest of clothes not much less than a pianoforte, and a huge pile of spades, pick-axes, and other implements of husbandry. They possessed money also, and letters of credit, and described

themselves as being persons of some substance at home. Why they emigrated they would not tell; but such were their prospects, that it was difficult to say whether they or the wild Irishers were the most to be commiserated for so untoward an interruption. Be this as it may, it cost the clerk half an hour to write down a list of their multifarious goods and chattels, while a single scratch of the pen sufficed for that of all the Irishmen.

"At last honest Saunders came under review. He was a tall, raw-boned, grave-looking personage, much pitted with the small-pox, and wearing a good deal of that harassed and melancholy air, which, sooner or later, settles on the brow of an assistant to a village pedagogue. He was startled, but not abashed, when drawn to the middle of the deck, and asked, in the presence of fifty persons, what clothes and other things he possessed? Not choosing at first to betray his poverty, he made no answer, but looked round, as if to discover where his chest had been placed. He then glanced at his thread-bare sleeve and tattered shoon with a slight touch of dry and bitter humor playing about the corners of his mouth, and a faint sparkle lighting up his grey and sunken eye, as he returned the impatient, official stare of the clerk, who stood, pen in hand, ready to note down the items. 'Don't be frightened, man,' said the captain; 'no one is going to hurt you, your things are quite safe. What does your property consist of?' 'A trifle, sir, a trifle,' quoth poor Sawney, — 'fourpence ha'penny, and an auld knife!' " — Vol. ii, pp. 103 – 106.

The cold barbarity of separating husbands and fathers from their families, the scornful and supercilious despotism of the transaction, the perfect impunity of the petty tyrants who did it, the indifference to the suffering of human beings, supposed to be of an inferior class, as displayed by the narrator, and the record of this outrage, extracted by the Reviewers from a work which they are hardly able to commend enough to satisfy themselves, are ample commentaries on that tendency of the British government, to which we ascribe, as far as to any form of civil government may be properly ascribed, the profusion and magnitude of crime by which the metropolis is overrun. But whether the relative condition of the upper and lower classes be as we have supposed, no doubt can exist that such an opinion prevails among the people of Great Britain, and this belief, so long as it remains, will produce all the consequences we have stated.

In another of Mr. Wakefield's works we accordingly find

the following remarks ; and it is almost needless to say, that whatever he writes on this matter is extensively circulated and generally read.

“Speaking generally, since all rules have exceptions, the privileged classes of our rural districts take infinite pains to be abhorred by their poorest neighbours. They inclose commons. They stop foot-paths. They wall in their parks. They set spring-guns and man-traps. They spend on the keep of high-bred dogs what would support half as many children, and yet persecute a laboring man for owning one friend in his cur. They make rates of wages, elaborately calculating the minimum of food that will keep together the soul and body of a clod-hopper. They breed game in profusion for their own amusement ; and having thus tempted the poor man to knock down a hare for his pot, they send him to the tread-mill, or antipodes, for that inexpressible offence. They build gaols, and fill them. They make new crimes and new punishments for the poor. They interfere with the marriages of the poor, compelling some, and forbidding others, to come together. They shut up paupers in work-houses, separating husband and wife, in pounds by day, and wards by night. They harness poor men to carts. They superintend ale-houses, decry skittles, deprecate beer-shops, meddle with fairs, and otherwise curtail the already narrow amusements of the poor. Even in church, where some of them solemnly preach that all are equal, they sit on cushions, in pews, boarded, matted, and sheltered with curtains from the wind and the vulgar gaze, whilst the lower orders must put up with a bare bench on a stone floor, which is good enough for them. Every where they are ostentatious in the display of wealth and enjoyment ; whilst in their intercourse with the poor they are suspicious, quick at taking offence, vindictive when displeased, haughty, overbearing, tyrannical and wolfish ; as it seems in the nature of man to be towards such of his fellows as, like sheep, are without the power to resist.”

We should be sorry to believe that all this was strictly true. Possibly, like the stories printed in England by some of the modern travellers in the United States, it is exaggerated beyond just resemblance. But the ground-work has some existence. It shows, at any rate, the opinion entertained of the upper classes by those below them, and cannot fail to provoke a dangerous resistance. Unfortunately that resistance has no legitimate course. It cannot expend its energy at a ballot-box. It dares not exert itself in open defiance of

power. It dreads the hazards of insurrection or treason. It arrays itself therefore in a kind of servile war, and attempts to punish one set of crimes by the perpetration of others. It beats down the moral force of society.

A good deal of the misery which has been described, appears to us to result from that artificial refinement, of which great boast is made, and for which superiority is especially claimed by writers, who affect to ridicule and despise the ruder habits of Americans. We do not propose to remark on that dissoluteness and depravity, which, if not the very refinement that is spoken of, inseparably attends it; or of the inefficient protection to the community in a substitution of manners for morals, or the danger of allowing fashion to take the authority of virtue. Undoubtedly the classes most distinguished for refinement have their besetting sins, that may sometimes be found a dear penalty for the advantages of that course of conduct, which is regulated less by nature than by art; and we should be glad to know what part of the extensive corruption that exists, arises from the artificial forms which society has assumed. How many of those great numbers, who infect the moral atmosphere, are cast off from the higher circles, or in vain have aspired to reach them? How many, emulous of the advantages which they have had opportunity to admire without ability to possess, abandon all forms of honest industry, and live by pillage and plunder and knavery and fraud? This attempted refinement has led to forms and modes of education subversive of the proper object of all good education, namely, to act well one's part on the theatre of life.

It seems not to be understood, that education may be abused, and, like other blessings of life, be converted by human folly or human passion into a serious evil. To be well and thoroughly educated for one's employment or profession is, undoubtedly, the perfection of the process, and to be educated for a higher vocation, when the education that gives the means of discharging its duties may also afford an opportunity of reaching it, cannot be too highly appreciated; but to acquire, through the means of extraordinary culture, wants, tastes, feelings, which can never be gratified, capacities which must ever be unoccupied, large desires that no power can supply, and to be filled, by an artificial sensibility, with aversion and disgust at the necessary details of an un-

changeable employment, is to generate individual unhappiness, and by consequence universal disquietude. Whatever may be the case where employment is open to every body, and genius with industry feels sure of distinction, in England, where the path for life is marked out at the beginning of it, and seems, with a few splendid exceptions, which only serve to dazzle and confuse, to be as immutable as an Indian caste, the acquired sensibility, that renders its duties distasteful, is no very desirable acquisition.

There is another process of education of mischievous character. Its tendency is to produce a desire for intellectual distinction, without conferring the means of attaining it, and to deceive the pupil into a belief, that his inclination is equivalent to the power which cultivation should bestow. Noisy club-orators, with more garrulity than sense, are the product of this school. So too are the sciolists, who controvert, without being able to fathom, long established and admitted truth, and who delight in the influence which their volubility enables them to exert over silly women and ignorant men. Such are the declaimers of the doctrine of Fanny Wright, and the deluded retailers of Owen's ridiculous sophistry, who, mistaking words for ideas, and relying on the extravagance and novelty of a paradox for effect, mislead others as infatuated as themselves. We are not without our suspicion, that a great proportion of the misguided women, who are represented by our author to be ready to join in any scheme of destruction and anarchy, owe their ruin to a process of supposed education, not calculated for any condition which they could possibly attain. To avoid a life of labor, they are fitted for one of indulgence and luxury; but the preparation for it and the desire for it do not procure the means of securing it, and they sink from the respectability which honest industry may confer on comparative poverty, into the degradation that is inseparable from voluntary vice. Experience does not, in this respect, always give wisdom. Each, if he sees the wreck of his neighbour's bark, hopes to escape a similar calamity, though he may pursue the same course; and to this infatuation may be ascribed more of the misfortunes of female life, than are obvious to a casual spectator.

If then so much be attributable to the course of that system, which is adopted for the education of the young; and es-

pecially of the female part of the community, it may be well for us to look at home, not so much for complaint as for improvement. It may be useful to inquire, whether, in our proneness to copy English manners and English tastes, we may not have adopted, with a vast deal that is noble and imposing and excellent, some habits and some opinions that are of more doubtful utility. And on this subject of education we think we have yet something to learn, in its application to our peculiar institutions and state of society.

It has been said, that our country does not especially need the services of very many very learned men, and that she has little occasion for their abstruse and recondite learning. But is the force of eminently powerful minds, in the production of similar energy, duly considered? Wherever they appear, they raise the intellectual character of their country, and often of their age. What effect had the genius of Napoleon on the martial character of the world! What has Johnson done for literature, or West for painting, or Canova for sculpture, independently of their personal and immediate efforts! What have these great men, and others of our own country, accomplished silently and without any special observance! Besides, an ambitious pretension and strained effort for display are consequences of the want of a fixed and high standard of intellectual character. Acquisitions will be more showy than substantial, not because there are not men able to teach higher and better things, but because the learners or the learners' friends are easily satisfied with inferior attainments. That such is, in some degree, the present state of things here, is evident, we think, from the general course and objects of the education of our young people, and particularly of females. We dislike to hear it. We resent the imputation when it is made in the unfriendly spirit of some captious review, or the coarse narrative of a sneering traveller, not better educated than those that are the objects of his sneer. But examination may show us, that more is attempted in the usual course of a polite education, to which indeed all classes aspire, than the time and means can compass, and that the consequence is, that little or nothing is done well. There is reason to fear, from the very program of the studies, that in our highest female schools much time is spent to very little advantage, and in those of a second and third rate more is absolutely



wasted, while the pupils and their parents labor under a deception alike injurious to themselves and the country.

Every where exercises in the languages, ancient and modern, in music and painting, in poetry and prose for composition, as well as in the higher branches of the exact sciences, are to some extent proposed, while, from the multiplicity of the objects, and the curtailment of time, and the universal spirit for dress and amusement, which is perfectly incompatible with assiduous and severe labor, every thing is superficially taught, and nothing is learned well. The expenses of education are too high. Books are too numerous and too costly, and the course of instruction too much broken by the common avocations of society.

The extent and force of female influence, which our habits allow and indeed encourage, make the character of the female mind a subject of deep interest to the community; while that morbid sensibility that shrinks from all suspicion of deficiency, makes the chance for improvement the more perilous. Whether a more intellectual character of a practical and useful kind may not be given by a different course; whether a higher literary taste may not be excited without infringing on the necessary duties of the sex; whether a more rational and less expensive mode of social intercourse may not be made more popular and quite as satisfactory; whether the frivolous conversation and the substantial fare of our splendid saloons may not be exchanged for lighter refectation and higher intelligence, are questions which deserve the serious consideration of education societies, as well as the *arbitri elegantiarum*, by whom the manners of the community are constantly regulated.

Between manners and morals there is an inseparable connexion. Between the cultivation of the female mind and the good order, the peace, the tranquillity of our civil communities, there is a most intimate relationship; and, with all our independence and political equality, there is yet a power in the affluent and distinguished, which, although not expressly admitted, and sometimes pertinaciously denied, maintains an influence quite as potent, for good or for harm, as where the individuals are placed in different classes by the permanent and uncontroverted laws of the realm.

If in the higher and costlier schools, where the course of education is regulated by the inclination of those who sup-

port them, more attention was paid to endowments of mind that are calculated to last for life, even at the risk of losing the showy and sickly exotics that can hardly give a momentary decoration to the morning of youth, a great advance would be made in the general state of society.

Although the character of the sex, taken on the whole, is unexampled for its intelligence and purity, and the freedom which is accorded to it serves to elevate the moral dignity of the greater part, yet, in the cities of the United States, numbers are unhappily congregated, who may be classed with the miserable objects described by our author, in terms that imply the lowest state of degradation and depravity. This pitiable portion is made up, not only of some of the originally poor and abject, but of others who could not make good the expectation and promises of life. An over-education had given hopes that are ruined. Tastes and habits are formed, which honest means are wanting to gratify. The moral and religious feelings have been neglected in that false and delusive course, which left them altogether or in a great degree out of the process of cultivation; and thus the aliment, on which the mind should have strengthened and become invigorated, has become a poison fatal in its operation, and contagious in its character.

We are not to be misunderstood as uttering any sentiment adverse to universal and efficient education. On the contrary we maintain and insist, that the great object of human existence, the moral improvement of each individual, and the consequent advancement of the race, is, so far as human means can accomplish it, entirely dependent on its vigorous and constant prosecution. But we do mean to say, that the common course of schooling and reading and forms of supposed instruction, called education, are often no education at all; we do mean to say, that it is possible to learn much and know much, and to be very fashionably and expensively educated in all the customary branches of a modern school, and to be rendered thereby more useless, more helpless, and more dangerous to one's self and the community.

If it be by any one maintained, that any and all kinds of education do some good, it must be conceded, we think, that the most good is accomplished by that which is most appropriate to the real business and situation of the individual who receives it. To be of any value it must be ap-

propriate. Life is not long enough to learn every thing ; and that portion of it which is devoted to the acquisition of knowledge is very injudiciously wasted, if it is devoted to the gathering of materials which are no way serviceable in after years, and especially if they unnerve and disqualify the mind for the actual condition in which it may happen to be placed. It may be added, too, that education cannot, by any contrivance yet known, be made as common as the air, of which each individual may take what his convenience requires. It is to be provided ; and, though it can never be had without money, yet with money it cannot always be purchased. It is not a marketable commodity, that may be put down on the price-current of articles for sale. It must be directed by high intelligence, arranged with foresight and talent, and planned out, like a rail-road, in which the science of the engineer and the mechanical force of the laborer and the miscellaneous services of sundry intermediate agents are alike indispensable, however various in value.

Another cause for much of that moral evil, which is described to exist in the metropolis of England, may be found in the condition of the criminal law. Its cruel severity and its unsteady and irregular action deprive society of the advantages to be derived from an intelligent, humane, yet strict administration of public justice.

Popular opinion does not sanction the infliction of punishment which the laws enjoin, and, being in some degree consulted through the forms of a jury trial, evades or defies their provisions. The law then fails to carry its intentions into effect. Cavils, conceits, quibbles of the most frivolous kind are allowed to interpose, for the purpose of defeating its operation ; and hence its administration is abhorred for its cruelty, at the very time that it is despised for its weakness. The law itself is thereby brought into disgrace. It ceases to inspire respect. Its commands, more powerful under a wise administration in preventing crime than in punishing it, are disregarded ; and a power, which, when all others fail, ought to be sufficient, if not to promote virtue, at least to restrain vice, is in a great degree annihilated.

Much has recently been done to restore the pristine vigor of the law, by making it more congenial to the improved sentiments of the age, by making it plainer, milder, and more humane, and thus commending it to the good sense of

its subjects; but the effects of this improvement are not, and cannot be, immediate. Their progress is of necessity slow, for much time must be required to do away the effect of ages of cruelty and barbarism. But it is only by maintaining the authority of law, by conforming its provisions to sound reason and an intelligent humanity, and then by vigorously enforcing its commands, that the peace of society can be preserved. They who act from high principle never come within the practical operation of the laws. Of well-meaning and well-behaving citizens the civil power takes no especial cognizance. But when that restraint, which morality should maintain over passion, is broken down, what power but the law can shut out the torrent of iniquity that pours on society?

The question, then, to be discussed is not on the merits of the principle, which enforces obedience and preserves the public peace, but on the fact, whether by any power this peace is preserved and this obedience enforced. A loftier sentiment acts upon those, who conform to the interests of society, not through any legal restraint, but by the strength of moral obligation, — not from fear of man, but love of God. But when this latter motive is ineffectual, as too often it is found to be, society is in a most deplorable condition if it has not a force within itself sufficient for its protection. This force, the only one it can exercise without despotism, is the force of law. The moral power and the legal are in operation, each actively and vigorously in its own appropriate sphere, and there is a reciprocal and most useful agency exerted by each on the other. An intelligent moral power will regulate to a great extent the code of criminal law, and this code will wonderfully influence the moral sentiment of the people. The statesman, therefore, who is to provide for the public security, and the moralist, who professes to teach men the proper motives of action, have a joint duty to perform, in which the assistance of both is necessary for the success of either. The union of effort, which is required for the common good, may not be neglected without danger of convulsion and insurrection. The power of society, as expressed and enforced by its judicial tribunals over acts which the wisdom of its legislature has pronounced to be criminal, is not only one of the most salutary of its powers, but that one, without which all its other agencies and re-

sources in the more alluring habiliments of charity and benevolence, would be utterly ineffectual. Fear of punishment, in some form or other, is an indispensable element in the regulation of society. Men may be in some degree allured by favors, by rewards, by kind feelings, and the applause of their fellow citizens. At all events, however, they must do or forbear to do what society demands; and when these motives of allurements are ineffectual, more compulsory means must be contrived, or the machinery of society would be brought to a stand. All this is obvious enough. Nobody that we ever heard of has denied the reasonableness or the utility of the coercive or corrective power of the public, whenever it was to be maintained as an abstract proposition; yet never, or very rarely indeed, is it brought to bear on an individual case, without being the subject of doubt and dispute and contradiction, often to a degree that threatens to render it abortive. In England it has been repeatedly affirmed, that while the law subjected a person guilty of the crime of forging bank notes to capital punishment, so many of those, who could inform, would decline to give testimony, and so many jurors, in case of prosecution, would refuse to convict, that the crime itself was nearly unpunishable. Other offences were pardoned by a kind of public sympathy; and thus the law, which was intended to be a terror to evil-doers, became a mere effigy without animation. To the extent to which impunity has been enjoyed, by those who in England are justly exposed to the animadversion of the laws, nothing of the like kind can be said to have occurred in the United States. Neither in numbers, nor by confederacy, nor as a known class, have the workers of iniquity collected together in any part of this country, as our author describes them to have done in London. Yet, as a relaxation of the efficient power of the public is capable of producing so much evil, it is wise to keep a constant supervision over it, and to ascertain from time to time how well the common defences have been maintained, and how often, and to what extent, an encroachment on the public domain has been attempted.

The value of the law, as a protection to the community, depends on the correctness of its enactments, and the manner in which they are executed. Leaving the former branch, as one too extensive for the close of an article al-

ready sufficiently protracted, we shall confine our attention to the manner in which these laws are put in operation.

That is the most healthy state of society, which enables its magistracy, which with us is only another term for the collective body of the people, to enforce the execution of those decrees, that its wisdom has deliberately adopted.

The most liberal democracy cannot, we suppose, deny to society the power of self-preservation, not merely from utter annihilation, but from the loss of any of those privileges, conveniences, and securities, without which its existence would be any thing but a blessing. Now this preservation consists in the performance, by every citizen, of his appropriate duty. Whenever this duty is violated, the good order of the community is deranged; and to prevent the future recurrence of the evil, it has been deemed wise, and indeed necessary, to punish its past commission. It is the appropriate duty of the law then, by its proper officers, to ascertain that an act contrary to its commands has been perpetrated, to find out the offender, and to inflict the prescribed punishment for the crime. It is obvious, that if this could be perfectly accomplished, the peace of society would never be disturbed, and the law itself, like a castle that kept off its enemies by the array of its resistless force, would maintain its power by a show of strength, without the exertion of it. If the fruits of crime could always be taken away, and an added measure of suffering be the consequence of attempting it, the attempt would be madness, and therefore be made only by the insane. If a thief, for instance, were sure, that the proceeds of his felony, as surely as they came into his hands, would instantly be taken away, and punishment of some kind be inflicted, it would be utterly incredible, that an attempt to commit larceny could ever be made. While a moral and religious sentiment preserved a certain part of the community from error, they, over whom high and honest motives failed to operate, would be prevented, by the force of legal restraint, from the indulgence of bad passions, which would be kept under control, not indeed by the virtue of the individual, but, quite as efficiently for the common good, by the public force. But this theoretic perfection is unattainable, and that which might be supposed possible is yet unaccom-



plished. What are the causes of this inefficiency of the public power ?

The vigor of public justice is impaired by the difficulty of discovering the proper person to be charged as the perpetrator of a crime. We know, every day, that offences of more or less enormity have been committed. Our suffering fellow citizens complain of a depredation on their persons or property, sometimes to a great extent, and often in a small degree, without the possibility of being able even to guess by whom the wrong was done. The offender not only goes with impunity, but is emboldened by his escape to repeat his transgression ; and others, like him, are encouraged by a hope of the same security. It would hardly be possible to provide guards enough to discover at the moment all the violators of law. But unquestionably many might be discovered by proper care, who are now undisturbed. The corps of watchmen and constables, and other officers of police, are intended to bring offenders to light ; but their assiduity often needs to be stimulated by some inducement beyond the mere emoluments of official duty. As these men live by their labor in these departments, the question of compensation is a serious one to them, and a problem which the public have never satisfactorily solved. Shall they be paid by the day or by the job ? Shall they be paid for their required time, at a fixed price, whether they do much or little ? or for each specific act, whether many or few ? Each mode has its advantages and its evils. That which is in this Commonwealth generally adopted, partakes of both systems, and unites the good and the bad parts of each of them.

The movements of this class of public servants are watched with great jealousy, and with a constantly fluctuating policy, on the part of the public. Sometimes rewards are held out for their diligence ; and when, in consequence of these rewards, the duty is freely and largely done, and the officer is profiting by the bounty, his good fortune excites jealousy, he is said to be overpaid, and the encouragement is discontinued, even at the hazard of giving impunity to crime.

As the whole process of justice is set in motion by the act of discovering a suspected offender, this humble and lowest department is obviously not the least considerable ; and as the mind of the public stands affected towards this class of its

agents, as they are few or numerous, vigilant or careless, honest or unfaithful, so, it is obvious, will be the security of the public, in regard to all that great body of offenders, who prowl in the secrecy of midnight darkness.

But the law intrusts itself to the protection of each of the good citizens of the State. Its sword is put into the hands of every honest man, to be wielded as justice may require. Not merely are the paid guardians of the public peace to make complaint, by means of which offenders may be stayed, but every man, knowing of the commission of a crime by another, is bound to communicate what he knows to some neighbouring magistrate, to the end that offenders may be arrested and punished.

If this duty be neglected, there is a defect of justice ; and that it is often neglected, most of our readers have probably some good reason to believe. The trouble, the loss of time, the perplexity, and, not uncommonly, the unjust aspersions which are thrown out on an informer, especially if he is not personally injured by the offence, prevent the prosecution of very many offenders. On great occasions, as where a murder or a robbery is committed, these considerations are lost in the absorbing sense of public interest ; but on inferior subjects they have a great and a growing influence. Where, as in the city of Boston, there is but a single place, in which the initiatory process of complaint can usually be made ; where this is distant, inconvenient, and crowded ; where others, who came first, must be first heard, and great delay, or repeated application, must thereby be the consequence ; and where the right of cross-examination, by a prisoner's counsel, may be abused systematically, for the purpose of rendering the citizen's duty painful and odious, the judicial power is curtailed of its fair proportion, and a dangerous and disgraceful impunity is in fact promulgated for low criminals and their accessories after the fact. These evils grow by neglect. They continue to swell until their size and corruption attract notice, and then the good sense of the community applies its remedy, which establishes a better state of things and preserves the body politic, until in its turn it becomes ineffectual, and may require support or revision.

Other difficulties, of a more permanent character, interfere with that theoretic perfection, which is more to be de-

sired than expected. Some of these arise out of provisions wisely made for the protection of innocence, and intended to establish and elucidate truth. Hence the procrastination, delay, and expense of judicial trials. Hence the impatience of the public mind, which always outruns the march of justice, and decides with the promptness of a tyrant, what the law is able to ascertain only in the tardiness of its republican movement. Justice weighs out each grain and scruple of evidence or argument, with the slowness and precision of an apothecary ; while the impatient community seizes on the whole at a grasp, and treats it as an article of commerce, to be measured by the cargo. The caution, the delay, the exactness of a judicial tribunal weary people, who wonder that the law does not decide as rapidly and as peremptorily as themselves.

The length of our public trials is chiefly owing to the defence. The part of the prosecution is soon over. Minute examination of evidence and long discussions of the law and the fact are rights secured to the party accused, which, if he has ability to purchase, he is sure to command. That the privilege cannot be diminished is certain ; that it may be abused is no argument for abolishing it. That it often is carried to a length which appears to the auditors and the public exceedingly unreasonable, is manifest. The simplest inquiries become thereby tedious to all the parties concerned, and they render the administration of the law unpopular, inasmuch as they make apparently a great waste of time and money. Whether an assault was made on a member of Congress for words spoken in debate, a question upon which the public mind settles an opinion in a day, may occupy two hundred members of Congress for a month. Whether a militia officer discharged the escort-duties of a parade, which, being an open exhibition, is determined by the spectators on the spot, may take a court-martial weeks to determine. If indeed the tribunal, at which the party is arraigned, were the only one he had to address, there would be a limit, within ordinary bounds, to the exertion and the arguments of counsel. But every thing with us is addressed to the people. They have an appellate power over every established tribunal known to the laws, and to this, though nominally to the court, are addressed the arguments and eloquence of the party on trial. What is the consequence ?

Small offenders are often not put on trial, because the expense of the process would bear an undue proportion to the offence. Great offenders escape, because the costs and the time cannot be commanded.

In some respects our system may be considered impracticable. Thus it can hardly be conceived, that the power of impeachment, vested by the constitution in the Congress of the United States, could be conducted under any circumstances to a conclusion within the period of the appointment of a President, if he should be the party to be tried; and that provision for the security of the public must be deemed impracticable and useless. What could be done with any extensive conspiracy or treason against the United States? The trial of Fries lasted fifteen days. The trial of Aaron Burr in Richmond continued from the twenty-second of May to the second of September. In England, the trials of Thistlewood and all the other Cato-street conspirators were finished in a week.

If we are asked for a remedy, we can suggest no other than a corrected state of public opinion. These long trials, long arguments, incessant motions, and protracted details of evidence are designed for public effect. They are encouraged by that condition of the public mind which receives them with favor, and they will be compressed into the reasonable and limited form that would better answer the proper objects of a judicial examination, when unnecessary and wasteful expense of time, and declamatory appeals to the public, under the guise of an argument to the court, are met with the stern reprobation their extravagance deserves and requires. The fault is laid upon lawyers, but belongs to the people. It would never be practised, if it were not received with favor. Through all the clouds of censure with which it is surrounded, there still gleams a light of approbation and applause, which encourages the repetition whenever an opportunity offers.

The vigor of public justice is impaired by the state of public feeling in regard to individual cases of crime. While every body admits that crime must be restrained by the punishment of the criminal, it is always a matter of doubt, whether, in any given case, the actual infliction of punishment would do much to secure this great object of society. Crime, wherever it occurs, is an evil, and so is punish-

ment. Now to add the evil of punishment to the evil of crime is doubling the causes of complaint. This new evil is not a substitute for the other, but an addition to it. Punishment cannot eradicate what has been done. The sufferings of the criminal cannot restore the life he has terminated, or the reputation he has assailed, or the property he has feloniously appropriated. Punishment comes in the form of vengeance. It partakes, at least in appearance, of the quality of revenge. The culprit has inflicted an injury on society, and now society has him in its power, and is about to inflict an injury on him. But in most cases it cannot confine the injury, which its power denounces, to the criminal himself. In almost every instance the innocent are involved with the guilty. If you impose a pecuniary penalty, helpless children lose their necessary food. Do you confine the party in prison? Their wants are to be supplied by his labor; and while the public feed him and clothe him in comfortable quarters, they are houseless and hungry and naked, and exposed to all the temptations of penury. In all cases, such is the intimate connexion between individuals in the relations of life, that disgrace, the severest part of public punishment, falls heaviest on the innocent connexions of the party who is guilty.

Now it is often in vain to point out the true theory of penal law, to discourse on the security it is intended to give to quiet and peaceful citizens, and the danger they would be exposed to by the impunity of the guilty. The question of utility is asked in each particular case, and a feeling of compassion, a sentiment of humanity, and not seldom a conviction that there is in each special instance no absolute hazard to the community, favor, in a thousand ways, the escape of the criminal.

These chances are duly considered by the depredators of society. They calculate the risks of detection and the hazards of a trial and the probability of escape, with as much precision as the accustomed incidents of honest pursuits.

One other cause, and it is the last we shall mention, is the misplaced benevolence of pious, charitable, and kind-hearted citizens. Whenever, by their aid, that, which the law intends as a punishment, is made less severe or inconvenient than the former condition of the culprit; whenever

more solicitude is expressed for the comfort and the condition of the criminal than the guiltless ; whenever the abode of the offenders, whom society denounces for their crimes, is made more cheering and grateful, more pleasant and peaceful, than the residence of honest, faithful, and laboring industry, a premium is held out for the commission of crime, and all the objects of the penal law are absolutely frustrated. The kindness thus shown to the guilty, is cruelty and mockery and insult to the humble and virtuous.

If society means, by its administration of criminal law, to enforce the great principle, that sin shall beget suffering, with a view of deterring men from the perpetration of iniquity, its design is defeated by any who convert this suffering into a relaxation, an amusement, a pastime ; and it is enfeebled by every attempt toward such an end, in just that degree in which the attempt is successful. Punishment must be suffering, or there is a confusion in words, and we speak without meaning. It need not be, and it ought not to be, cruelty. There is a limit, marked by humanity and by a Christian temper, to its extent ; but if any thing is intended by it, it must be, that the condition of the convicted culprit is to be made worse by the consequences of his crime, that he is to feel this degradation, that others are to see and feel it, and take warning by his unfortunate example. A deliberate scheme to change this course of things deserves not so much the name of humanity as fanaticism. The just severity of the law is quite as necessary as any of its rewards, as the means by which it gives education and cultivates the moral powers, or bestows its honors on the worthy.

It is no paradox to maintain, that the proper energy and rigor of the criminal law prevents the necessity of its frequent and disagreeable exercise. It has long been a maxim, that punishments will be rare in proportion as they are certain ; and the surest way to prevent their recurrence is, not to arrest the arm of the law when occasion calls for its exertion.

The time may come, when a universal understanding of the true theory of happiness shall make every man just, honest, and honorable ; when the force of moral principle shall control the solicitation of the passions and the misdirected calculations of interest ; when it shall be considered, not as an abstract proposition of recondite philosophy, but a

truth clear, plain, and demonstrated to the commonest capacity, that happiness is inseparable from virtue ; when that purity of heart, which it is the distinguishing character of Christianity to cultivate and produce, shall have eradicated all temptation to sin and all necessity for punishment. Such as have advanced thus far in the science of moral improvement, have passed beyond the jurisdiction of mere human laws ; they are directed by higher motives than the fear of their censure or the hope of their rewards. But, till the full light of that day beams upon us, the salutary influence of the laws, the force they can exercise, the power they can exert, is a necessary part of the constitution of all civil society.

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ART. II. — *A Discourse, delivered before the Boston Mercantile Association, and Others, assembled on their Invitation, on Tuesday Evening, February 7, 1832.* By WILLIAM SULLIVAN. Boston. Carter & Hendee. 1832. 8vo. pp. 36.

THE Association, before which this Discourse was delivered, have it in their power, if they are faithful to their objects, to do as much good as perhaps any society in this society-forming age. Their objects, as we gather them from the Discourse, appear to be, first, to institute lectures for the purpose of instructing young men, and inciting them to instruct themselves yet more completely, in those branches of knowledge which are calculated to make them accomplished merchants ; secondly, to assist and sustain those of their number, who, with a perfectly fair character, may become involved in their circumstances and be bereft of their property ; and, thirdly, to adopt means for the moral and religious improvement of the youth who are within the sphere of their immediate influence, and induce them to feel the value and the blessing of a good reputation. These objects are stated and enforced by Mr. Sullivan in a clear and practical manner, with much variety of knowledge, sound reasoning, and, above all, an evident and earnest desire to be useful and to do good.

In treating of the second stated object of the society, the speaker introduces the following remarks, which, together with what has been said and written to the same purpose in other places and at other times, will at last, we hope, bring on that change in the laws of our state, which seems to be so desirable.

"It is in reference to the hazards necessarily involved in commercial life, that an association among yourselves may be usefully established. You profess to guard against the evils of ignorant, negligent, and intentional wrongs, by preventing them. You mean to relieve innocent misfortune, by providing the means of showing that it was such. You intend that your associates shall not sink, and be lost to themselves, to their families, and to society, when poverty comes, *without fault*. This is, undoubtedly, one of the most estimable motives which have led to your union. It is peculiarly necessary in this community, because the innocent and unfortunate merchant and trader have no protection from legislative power, which resides in Congress; and which power that assembly refuses to exercise. They can have no adequate protection from state legislatures, in which the necessary power does not reside, if the will to exercise what remains to them existed, which it does not. The present state of the law, as to debtor and creditor, in Massachusetts, is as exceptionable as any that ever was known in an intelligent society. So much so, that debtors are, in some measure, compelled to make the law for themselves. It will be in your power, gentlemen, with the good sense and honorable intentions by which you are governed, to remedy many evils, which should be, but are not, remedied by legislative measures. You can do what no legislature can do. You can declare to the world, that an unfortunate man has not forfeited his rank, as a member of society. You can uphold and sustain him, when the world would desert him. You can pour a precious balm on his wounded spirit, and carry sympathy and consolation to the innocent hearts of the wife and of the children, who must be partners in his sorrows. You can lay for him a new foundation for his fortunes, and enable him, without even any cost to yourselves, to minister the like consolation, and the like support, to other deserving men, who are overtaken by like misfortunes." — pp. 21, 22.

Under the third topic, the moral improvement of the young, there is an illustration which struck us very agreeably, and the force of which must have been felt by every young man who had the privilege of hearing the Discourse.



"If one would be pleased and happy throughout this life, he must respect and render due honor to the wonderful composition of his Creator, which constitutes his individual being. He must so conduct himself, that when memory reminds him of the past, it will furnish him with no causes to reproach himself. That the rational pleasures of life are dependent on the healthy state of the body, and on a clear and peaceable mind, may be illustrated, more plainly, by presenting to your notice two different objects. Let us suppose, that, in a fair morning of summer, a young man of twenty is called from his bed to go to his place of business before sun-rise, and that his way lies across Boston Common; that he passed the preceding evening in the full enjoyment of pleasure; that is, he ate, drank, smoked, sung, and laughed (*if he did nothing worse*), and went to bed after midnight, with a feverish fullness, and with every one of his digestive powers called into intense action. It would necessarily follow, that his sleep was unquiet; that he rose from it with a confused, an aching head; that he came into the fresh air of the morning without any sensibility to its freshness; and that he pursues his way to his place of business with a feeble step, unconscious whether the sun is commencing to shed its beams over the earth, and careless of every thing but the unwelcome return of labor, and of the confused recollection of *last night's pleasures*.

"Let us look at another, who had passed the preceding evening in improving study, or in rational conversation or amusement (I include *amusement*, of which there are many kinds, and tending to innocent pleasure), and had retired to sleep without having called on his bodily powers to perform any labor but that of healthy duty, according to the law of their nature. He, too, awakes at early morning, and passes over the same ground to his accustomed duties. His bodily frame is at ease and gratified with its own sense of motion. His head is clear; and his heart and mind alive to the beauties of the created world. He feels, and is thankful that he does feel, the freshness of the morning. The sun rises before him, and pours its splendid light over the beautiful scene around, glittering on the dews, and casting the long shadows to the west. The sentiment steals over his mind that he does exist, and that he exists to behold the beaming of early day upon the rejoicing earth. His mind involuntarily ascends to the Author of creation. He moves on to his employments with a grateful sense that he is permitted to be capable of comprehending his own relation to the laws of nature, and his reverential duty to Him from whom they came.

"Which of these two young men will go through his day's work with most satisfaction to himself? Where will they respectively be, at twenty-one, at thirty, and at fifty? and in what light will they be respectively considered, by those who know them, if both should live to be old?" — pp. 27 – 29.

We know not what measures have been taken to give circulation to this pamphlet, but in our opinion it should be in the hands of every merchant and trader in the city, and of every young man who is in training for a mercantile life. If copies of it were sent to our other cities, they might prepare the way for the formation of other Mercantile Associations, and thus be among the means of raising still higher the already high character of the mercantile community.

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ART. III. — *Five Years of Youth ; or Sense and Sentiment*.

By HARRIET MARTINEAU, Author of "Times of the Saviour." First American Edition. Boston. Leonard C. Bowles. 1832. 18mo. pp. 258.

MISS MARTINEAU's pen cannot long remain idle, nor are we desirous that it should, while it continues to be employed, as heretofore, in contributing to the moral instruction and healthy entertainment of young and old. The work before us is intended for the young, by whom it may be read with profit, and cannot fail to be read with pleasure. We cannot, with a safe conscience, say, that we have been as much pleased with it ourselves, as we were with the "Traditions of Palestine," — for by that name we shall feel obliged to call that book, as long as the author sees fit to call it so, — though we are willing to allow, that the superiority of the latter consists, in a great degree, in the originality of its conception, and the peculiarly sacred beauties of its character. And we cannot now help expressing the wish, that Miss Martineau would again turn her attention to the characters of Scripture history and the scenery of the Holy Land.

The "Five Years of Youth" is designed to set forth the many advantages of cultivating good, practical, common sense, and the many evils of indulging sickly and nervous

sentiment, as both are exemplified in the history of two sisters, who had the unhappiness of losing their mother when they were very young. The name of the young lady of sense is Mary, and Anna is the young lady of sentiment. Mary proves the friend and comforter of her father, and Anna his constant torment; though her weakness is represented in such a manner that we cannot avoid heartily pitying her. The following description of Mary's singing is a lively and pleasant picture.

"He was delighted with Mary's singing, which was very unlike what he had heard from any other young lady since he had been in England. She had been well taught; but she had that natural taste for music,—the ear and the soul for it,—without which no teaching is of any avail. She sang much and often, not because she had any particular aim at being very accomplished, but because she loved it; or, as she said, because she could not help it. She sang to Nurse Rickham's children; she sang as she went up and down stairs; she sang when she was glad and when she was sorry; when her papa was at home, because he liked it; when he was out, because he could not be disturbed by it. In the woods, at noon-day, she sang like a bird, that a bird might answer her; and if she woke in the dark night, the feeling of solemn music came over her, with which she dared not break the silence. Every thing suggested music to her. Every piece of poetry, which she understood and liked, formed itself into melody in her mind, without an effort. When a gleam of sunshine burst out, she gave voice to it; and long before she had heard any cathedral service, the chanting of the Psalms was familiar to her by anticipation."

Poor Anna, who falls every day more and more under the dominion of her morbid sensitiveness, which degenerates into idle selfishness, is left by her father and sister with a friend in France, who, by the influence she has acquired over her, may possibly bring her out of her sad, nervous, helpless condition. We truly hope that she will; and as Anna has some fine qualities and abilities, we think Miss Martineau is bound to let us know, in proper time, of her recovery and reformation; and we will communicate the tidings with great pleasure.

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ART. IV. — *Lectures on Revivals of Religion.* By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D. Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Albany. *With an Introductory Essay,* by LEONARD WOODS, D. D. *Also, an Appendix, consisting of Letters* from the Rev. Doctors ALEXANDER, WAYLAND, DANA, MILLER, HYDE, HAWES, M'DOWELL, PORTER, PAYSON, PROUDFIT, NEILL, MILLEDOLER, DAVIS, LORD, HUMPHREY, DAY, GREEN, WADDELL, GRIFFIN, and Rev. C. P. McILVAINE. Albany. 1832. 8vo. pp. 484.

THIS book should be known and read for several reasons. It is the largest and most solid book that has ever been published, to our knowledge, exclusively on the subject of Revivals. It contains the views of more than twenty prominent clergymen in different parts of the country, and from six different religious denominations, all writing freely, and confining their remarks to this one subject. The subject itself, though trite, is of importance, whether we believe, with many, that these great religious movements are gaining upon the confidence of the community generally, as well as rapidly multiplying, or whether we suppose them, as do others, to be losing their hold on the respect of the sober-minded and rational of all parties. So long as revivals are traced to a peculiar and direct impulse from above, and exert the influence which they now do on the social and moral condition of society, they demand our candid and serious observation. And there is one distinct consideration, which seems to entitle this book to particular notice. It is the most sensible, discriminating, impartial, and therefore important treatise, or rather collection of treatises, that we have ever seen on this subject. There are candid concessions in it, for which the authors deserve all credit; while, at the same time, these concessions and the whole character of the book indicate, that it was written, not so much for the general purpose of recommending or explaining revivals, as, by admitting what cannot longer be denied, to save them from the abuse and disgrace to which they were fast coming.

Let us not be unjust. Let us not be mistaken. We never felt less disposed to quarrel with the advocates of revivals than at this moment. The perusal of this volume has

given us a stronger conviction than ever of the sincerity of their belief in the spiritual character of these excitements. No one can doubt, after reading the deliberate opinions of such men as have here written, that they, and most of the people on whom they act, have a strong, unwavering faith in the supernatural influences imparted at such times, and of course in the extensive good that always is or always may be obtained through them. This faith is very strongly expressed by several of the writers in this volume, who tell us they should as soon think of doubting their own existence, as of doubting the existence of revivals proceeding from the immediate and special effusion of the Holy Spirit. When therefore we say, that important concessions are made here, we would not imply, that these concessions involve the great question of the origin of revivals or the fact of special divine influence. Confidence in this seems to be unabated, and we would neither question nor sneer at it. While men honestly hold this faith and act from it, they should be reasoned with, but not ridiculed. All must feel, that the whole subject of divine influences is too much above our comprehension, and too awful, to be ever trifled with, or approached with any but the most serious mind, open to light and conviction.

The Lectures, which compose the body of this work, were written in the ordinary course of the author's ministry, as he tells us, and delivered to his own congregation during the last autumn and winter. In his Preface he thus expresses his purpose :

"The grand object at which he has aimed has been to vindicate and advance the cause of *genuine* revivals of religion ; and in doing this, he has endeavoured to distinguish between a genuine revival and a spurious excitement ; to defend revivals against the cavils of their opposers ; to show the causes which operate to prevent or retard them ; to exhibit the agency of God, and the instrumentality of men, by which they are produced and sustained ; to guide the inquiring sinner, and establish the young convert ; to guard against the abuses to which revivals are liable, and to anticipate the glorious results to which they must lead."

In this passage our readers will see the plan to which Dr. Sprague has closely adhered ; giving us nine Lectures, making nearly three hundred broad pages, on the several

points here expressed. Of these, the first and great point is to distinguish between genuine and spurious revivals. And is it unfair to ask, if this very fact, by no means peculiar to the present case, does not of itself bring into reasonable suspicion the whole character of revivals? Why is it deemed necessary to do so much to enable men to tell what *are* true revivals? Why have labored attempts been made from the beginning, by the greatest and best men who have had part in these excitements, to establish rules by which the best influences of heaven can be distinguished from the worst passions of earth, by which the work of God can be known from the work of the devil? Why was Edwards, the great master-spirit and standard to whom all look on this subject, compelled to admit, that there are no *unerring* signs of the true religious affections in times of excitement, as these are times, of which the great adversary particularly avails himself to counteract the designs of God, and successfully imposes on the best men, using the friends of revivals, even more than the enemies, as his instruments? This does Edwards say plainly, as quoted here by Dr. Miller; "One truly zealous person, in the time of such an event, that seems to have a great hand in the affair, and draws the eyes of many upon him, may do more (through Satan's being too subtle for him) to hinder the work, than an hundred great, and strong, and open opposers." This in substance is admitted by all who have written on this subject. We find it implied repeatedly in this volume, and sometimes very strongly expressed. It is evident that every writer feels himself constrained, though he do nothing else, to admit and guard against the dreadful abuses to which revivals are liable. All appearances are allowed to be delusive at such times. The very best promises may fail, and not only fail, but prove themselves to have been hollow from the first. And not a few give us evidence of the fact which Dr. Alexander, of Princeton, has stated in this remarkable language; "I have never seen so great insensibility in any people, as in those who had been the subjects of violent religious excitement; and I have never seen any sinners so bold and reckless in their impiety, as those who had once been loud professors, and foremost in the time of revival." Dr. Woods says; "The feelings and words and actions of a professed convert may be owing to other

causes than the renewing of the Holy Spirit." Dr. Sprague assures us, that there are "instances innumerable, of persons who have for a season felt confident of their own conversion, and have been hailed by Christians as fellow-helpers in the work of the Lord, who have nevertheless subsequently been convinced themselves, and forced the conviction upon others, that what they had called Christian experience was mere delusion."

Pages might be filled with extracts from this book to the same purport. We think it not too much to say, that no feature of the book is more prominent, than its admission of the abuses, delusions, and dangers of revivals. Many of the writers appear to be burdened with the consciousness that religion has suffered, and is suffering, from this cause. They encourage the publication of this work with this particular view, and often use as strong terms as any opposers of revivals have used, in describing the dangers of this period of religious commotion. "The religious excitement," says President Lord, "is indeed well nigh universal; but I am not satisfied that it is all safe, and much of it, which has been called the work of God, will not, I fear, long bear that designation."

Now to what does this amount? What does it prove? It proves, say these gentlemen, that revivals, like every thing else, are liable to abuse. Yes, it proves that plainly enough, and we cannot give any one much credit for admitting that only. It proves also, that revivals are *peculiarly* liable to abuse. Nay, more, it proves that what seems to be the right and best use of revivals may be an abuse; that those who are enjoying apparently their best influences may be grossly deceived, and may grossly deceive others; the tree that is loaded with the richest blossoms may yield no fruit, but carry in its very richness of promise a poison for itself and those who approach it. It proves, in a word, that that which is felt by all who share, and pronounced by all who witness it, to be a wonderful work of God, may be a work of delusion and evil; an assertion allowed to be substantiated by the issue of some of the most remarkable revivals that our country has witnessed.

We must therefore ask again, Does not this admission, this fact, bring into reasonable suspicion the whole character of revivals? Does it not afford at least presumptive evi-

dence, that they are not, in any peculiar sense, the work of God? We are not surprised that some of these writers find it difficult to account for the fact, that God should permit the most powerful and best operations of his spirit to be often so perverted and even counterfeited; that those seasons when he is most remarkably present and gracious to his people, are seasons of peculiar danger to their souls! We account for the fact only by calling it in question. We doubt it. We demand proof of it. In the common operations of Divine power, it is not to be wondered at if men cannot always distinguish between the influence of a heavenly and an earthly spirit. But that the extraordinary, manifest, irresistible, and most glorious exertions of God's sovereignty, the miraculous effusions of his spirit, should be thus liable to mistake, and should lead many, who are supposed to be their blessed subjects, into the worst delusions, is indeed unaccountable. They say they do not pretend to account for it, yet such is the fact. We demand proof of the fact,—the fact that these are the effusions of God's spirit. For when they admit that the best appearances and promises may be delusive; when they assert that those who have been "foremost in the time of revival," may prove "bold and reckless in their impiety," they throw away all proof that can be drawn from the immediate effects of revivals. Dr. Sprague expressly affirms, that the immediate and partial effect of any measures in religion, "is no standard at all" by which to judge them. What then is the standard? The ultimate effect? We answer with Dr. Sprague again, that this "must furnish an inadequate rule for judging, for, in many cases at least, it is so general in its character that it is not easy to be traced." We have indeed the admission, that no appearance, no excitement, however violent or extensive, no assertion, or experience, or hope, or confidence, of a few or many, will prove the reality of a special divine influence. None of these establishes the fact of a *genuine* revival. And what will establish it? How does this book attempt to accomplish its first object, "to distinguish between a genuine revival and a spurious excitement?"

The first attempt is made by Dr. Woods in his "Introductory Essay." This Essay occupies twenty-four pages, and is one of the best treatises on conversion that we have ever seen of equal length. We remember few passages, to



which we should make any serious objection, or which we should not be willing to adopt and urge as our own. Its object is to determine by what rule we are to try and judge of "our title to the kingdom of heaven"; that is, how shall we know whether we or others possess the true Christian character? Dr. Woods's answer to this question is, that the only true and safe rule is "the word of God." He then brings several passages from Scripture, chiefly practical and plain, which appear to him to express this rule of judgment; and his inference is, that these passages require such a character as can be seen and known only by the life, the *fruits*. "Ye shall know them by their fruits;" and we cannot know ourselves or others by any thing else. It is no decisive evidence of conversion or religion, says Dr. Woods, that a man *says* he is converted, or that he really *thinks* he is converted, or that he has rapturous *joy*, or that he expresses a *hope*, or that he *resolves* to be a Christian. In all these he may be deceived himself, and deceive others. Whether he do or not, can be known only by the fruits of his present experience and purpose. Of course we can never judge at once.

"*Time* is necessary. The very nature of the rule shows this to be so. For how can the rule be applied to any one as a test of character, except as his character is made visible by his conduct? If we were omniscient, we could look directly into the heart, see all the secret springs of action, and pass sentence upon the character at once, without any danger of mistake. But as we can know men only by their fruits, we must wait for the fruits to appear. When we see blossoms upon a tree, we may hope for fruit, and may hope that the fruit will be good, and thus prove the tree to be good. But before we can actually judge as to the goodness of the tree, we must see and examine the fruit; and to do this we must take *time*. Without time it is impossible to determine, whether a sinner truly repents, and has a character which answers to the requisitions of God's holy word."—pp. 26, 27.

Than this nothing can be more Scriptural or rational, nothing more in accordance with our views and our preaching. So is all that Dr. Woods says of "sudden conversions." In reference to these we must extract one passage.

"A man is suddenly waked up to the importance of religion. Seeing himself to be a sinner, under condemnation, he is distressed and agitated. But on hearing the messages of divine mercy, and the offers of free pardon, he is filled with inexpres-

sible rapture, resolves to be a Christian, cries 'Glory to God,' and exults in the hope of heaven. Now, many Christians at the present day look upon such appearances as good evidence of a saving change, and, without any qualification, speak of the person who exhibits them as *converted*. But is this according to truth? Is it the dictate of Christian wisdom? What real evidence is there, that the person described has been savingly converted? Does the evidence consist in the sudden waking up of the mind to the things of religion? in a consciousness of guilt? in fear, and distress, and agitation? We learn from the Scriptures, that these things afford no satisfactory evidence of conversion." — pp. 23, 24.

The rule, then, which we are to use for the test of the Christian character, is the patient, long observation of conduct. In order to be proved, every one "must have time, opportunities, occasions, trials." Dr. Woods does not expressly bring to this rule the question as to the character and effect of revivals, but he must intend that it shall be so applied, or he would not have made it the introduction to this volume. We are therefore to bear it in mind in judging of revivals. Let us look next at Dr. Sprague's view of the same point.

We find it in his first Lecture. After admitting that "it is no certain indication of a genuine revival, that there is great excitement," nor yet "that great numbers profess to be converted," nor yet that there is "an extensive and violent opposition"; he finds the first indication of a genuine revival in the fact, that it "has been effected by *Scriptural means*." To this there can of course be no objection, except that, as it is here treated, it is no rule. For when we ask what are "Scriptural means," we are told, that they are such means as "God's word either directly prescribes or fairly sanctions"; and under this saving clause, "fairly sanctions," there is room enough for any interpretation and any use of means that the wildest enthusiast may choose. Accordingly, in the next Lecture, where the rule is applied, we see its looseness and uselessness. It is said, that, in order to prove any thing unscriptural, we must not only show, "that it is not expressly commanded," but must also show, that is "expressly or implicitly forbidden." Whatever, then, is not expressly or implicitly forbidden in Scripture is Scriptural. Will Dr. Sprague have the goodness to apply this rule to a few of the enormities that have appeared

in the church, such as the sale of indulgences, the power of the Inquisition, or the recent pretence to the gift of tongues? Will he consent, that these or similar measures should be tried by this rule, the authors of the measures being themselves judges, as of course they must be? Or, he being judge, can he point out the inconsistency between these measures and the institutions of God, more easily than between those institutions and the means peculiar to a modern revival? To the manner in which he uses Scripture in this relation, we shall have occasion to refer again.

The next mark of a genuine revival is, "*a due proportion of reflection and feeling.*" This too would be very well, if there were any fixed mode of determining what is a due proportion of reflection and feeling, or if we could always discern the proportion. As it is, the rule is of little use. Still we are very glad to see reflection recommended in connexion with revivals. There cannot be too much of it in regard to any measures or experiences in religion. And we rejoice to see, in such a work, sentiments like this: "If there be a great deal of feeling with very little thought, burning heat with only dim and doubtful light; if the sensibilities of the soul be wrought into a storm, none can tell how or why; then, rely on it, it is not a work which God owns; or if there are some true conversions, far the greater number may be expected to prove spurious."

The last and definite mark of the genuineness of a revival "*is its substantial and abiding fruit.*" Thus we have, in the end, the same rule that Dr. Woods gave us, and it is explained in the same way. It is again admitted, that present convictions, transports, or professions, are not evidence to be relied on; for "delusion and self-deception are consistent with the most promising appearances which are ever exhibited." We must try the character of revivals as we do that of individuals, by the fruits; and we must wait to see what the fruits are.

"If an excitement on the subject of religion (no matter how great it may have been) passes away, and leaves behind little or no substantial good; if most of those who profess to have been converted, return speedily or gradually to the world, living a careless life, and exhibiting an unedifying example; or if they manifest a spirit of pride and uncharitableness, and a disposition to condemn all who do not exactly come to their

standard, then rely on it, though that may be *called* a revival of religion, it has little more than the name. Religion acted out in the life is the best evidence that religion has its dwelling in the heart. Let the virtues and graces of the Christian adorn the lives of those who have professed to be converted during a revival, and you need ask for no better evidence that *there* has been the agency of the Spirit of God." — pp. 21, 22.

We admit it. But, observe, it does not follow, that there was no agency there but that of God. It does not follow, that his agency was miraculous, or special, or local, nor that it gave the first or chief impulse to the revival. It does not follow, that there was not there an agency of man, perverting or mistaking the agency of God, and producing on the whole a preponderance of evil. More than all, it does not follow, that all the evil, or danger of evil, might not have been avoided, and all the good secured, by a faithful, quiet use of the regular institutions and means of religion, without resorting to means, which, by the admission of the strongest friends of revivals, are always liable to abuse. Here is the point at which we take our stand. Here lies the sophistry or fallacy of the common mode of reasoning on this subject. It is affirmed by the advocates, and admitted by the opponents of revivals, that they are attended with much positive good; that some of the best influences of religion are then imparted, and its best promises fulfilled. There is an unusual attention to religion. It is for a time the first, absorbing interest. Not only the thoughtful, but many who before were unconcerned, are roused, engaged, excited, alarmed, and led to ask "what they shall do to be saved." "Lovers of pleasure" are stopped in their mad chase, and even the cold, calculating man of business, whose thoughts have seemed almost incapable of any direction but that of worldly gain, has suddenly turned his eye and his steps toward the imperishable riches. The whole aspect of a community is sometimes changed in a few weeks, the common paths of life forsaken, and those only thronged, which lead to the house of God and the place of prayer. All this we have heard, much of it we have seen, and we did not need the present volume, many and highly respectable and undoubted as are its testimonies to such facts, to convince us of the truth of these things. We must indeed qualify our assent, when we hear the author of this

work and several of its contributors assert, that "far the greater number of those who are turned from darkness to light," owe their conversion directly and entirely to revivals. It may be true within their denominations and their range of action, and according to the common mode of numbering conversions. But in reference to all Christians, and to religion as independent of peculiar doctrines and manifestations, it is an assertion which none can prove and none should make. With this exception, we admit all here said of the good effects of revivals. We believe there is a good spirit often in the midst of them, the spirit of God and his Christ.

Why, then, we are confidently asked, — as if the argument were here at an end, — why do you not encourage these excitements? For the plain and Christian reason, that we honestly believe them, in their common form, to proceed on a false principle, and to be productive, of positive good indeed, but also of positive evil far outweighing the good. They proceed on a false principle, — the assumption that they are the effect of the special operation of God's spirit; that in an unusual sense he is their first cause, and is present in them with a power and grace altogether peculiar. This is assumed, and all must see, that, if it be not true, to believe it and act upon it must be pernicious. We believe that it is not true. It has never been supported by any thing like satisfactory evidence. The argument, by which revivalists attempt to uphold it, is twofold; first, an argument from Scripture, and, secondly, from the actual, visible effects. As to the argument from Scripture, we have never been able to believe men quite sincere in using it. It is drawn, first, from the occasional use of the word *revive*, in such passages as these: "O Lord, revive thy work;" "Wilt thou not revive us again?" — passages which Dr. Sprague soberly adduces in proof, that the Bible has given a direct sanction to revivals. Of such proof we have nothing to say. Those who can receive it, would not understand any thing that we should be willing to call argument. Next, we are told, that there are *instances* of revivals in Scripture. For these we are referred to the reigns of David and Solomon, of Asa and Jehoshaphat, of Hezekiah and Josiah, to the return of the Jews from captivity, to the times of John the Baptist, and to the day of Pentecost. Is there a man

of sense in the land, of any sect or any experience, who will not own, that the periods and events, here referred to, would never have suggested to him the thought of a revival, as the term is now generally understood, had he not first believed in revivals, and then turned to these passages in support of them? What is Dr. Sprague thinking of, when he says that here are facts "precisely analogous" to those which we object to, in revivals of the present day? He does not believe it. He cannot see or intend any other analogy than the naked fact, that there have always been seasons and events of peculiar prominence in a religious view; more of God's power manifested, and men's hearts more evidently and generally affected by this manifestation, at one time than at another. Does this constitute or prove a revival? Then indeed have there been revivals in every age of the world, in every sect of Christians, and every community of men.

The history of the effusion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, is the only passage, brought from Scripture as affording an instance of a revival, which calls for remark. And what does that history tell us? Simply this; that miraculous powers were then given to the Apostles, and given so visibly and remarkably, that the Jews who were near, "devout men," when they witnessed the effects, were astonished and confounded. Peter, seizing the opportunity of fixing the attention thus roused, gave them a calm narration of the promises of God in regard to Christ and the effusion of the spirit, telling them that it was the same Jesus whom they had crucified, who, "being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear." This fact thus brought home to them, thus miraculously attested, compelled them to admit the truth of Christianity, and three thousand of them at once renounced their Jewish prejudices, and were baptized into the Christian faith. These are the facts. You cannot make any thing else of them. You cannot prove, that a miraculous influence was imparted to any but the Apostles, or that it consisted in any thing but gifts peculiar to their office. You cannot prove, that the same influence has ever been imparted since, or that the conversion of the three thousand was analogous to conversions in Christian communities;

that being a change, not of heart or character necessarily, but of religion, a change from Judaism to Christianity. This fact seems to be wholly overlooked by many at present, and by some who have no apology for overlooking or concealing it. It seems also to be forgotten, that, in the preaching of Peter which led to this conversion of the multitude, there is not one of the *doctrines* which are now said to be essential to the production of a genuine revival. Several of the writers, in the book before us, have given us a list of doctrines, which they have always preached in times of revival, and to which they chiefly ascribe the effect produced. Now we wish it to be remembered, that, according to this criterion, Peter's preaching was utterly defective, and the consequent conversions not genuine. For never was there a sermon preached more thoroughly Unitarian, than his at that time. Its very pith and burden were, that Jesus, *a man approved of God by miracles which God did by him*, though crucified by them, *God had raised up, and made that same Jesus both Lord and Christ*. We therefore call on Dr. Sprague, and all who insist that this was a genuine revival, to preach the same doctrine and no other, and use the same means and no other. Or let them own, as we should think every reader of the Bible must do, that its whole tone, and especially the dignified and calm spirit of Christ, powerfully rebuke every thing like the stir, and passion, and management of a revival.

We are brought back then to the *effects* of revivals, as affording the only ground, on which it is possible to defend their claims to a supernatural impulse. It is evidently by observing these effects, and not by any thing they find in Scripture, that men are led to ascribe revivals directly to God. And are these effects sufficient to bear up the claim? Not unless it can be proved, that the same effects *could not* be produced without this extraordinary influence. There is the point. Satisfy us that these are effects which no human agency or human principles can account for, and we will admit a special divine agency. But all religion, as well as all philosophy and life, show, that it is nothing to prove that good and great effects follow these excitements. Most extraordinary would it be, if they did not. So do they from all great excitements, even the most fearful commotions in the natural and moral world. These all do good, directly or

indirectly. But are they therefore to be prayed for and helped by all the means in our power? Are we to ask for an earthquake or a conflagration, because, while it piles in ruins half our city, it will throw employment into the hands of thousands of the destitute and suffering? If we intended this as a strict parallel, we should be borne out by the language used in this book, in relation to the disastrous effects of some great revivals; such as that of Davenport in the last century, and the more recent revival in Kentucky and Tennessee. It is plain that two points must be clearly made out, before the argument in favor of revivals will be established. It must first be proved, that the good they do exceeds the evil, and then it must be shown, that the means employed are not adequate to produce or to account for the effect, without supposing a supernatural cause. Consider the variety, extent, and power of the measures commonly used; consider the principles and passions of our nature; consider, especially, though usually it is least considered, the state of preparation of the people to be acted upon, having entire faith in the reality of the work, and feeling that their eternal happiness depends upon their believing and experiencing it in all its power; consider this and much more, belonging to what these writers themselves call the "human machinery" of revivals, — and you must allow, that together it will account for any effect that has been known to follow these movements.

It is difficult to make any fair comparison of the good and evil effects of revivals. Good and evil are so mixed in almost every connexion, and so many causes operate to produce any great result, especially such a result as a good or bad character, that little confidence can be placed in the best calculations. It is sometimes said, that the value of one soul being incalculable, if we can secure a single true conversion, it will balance much evil. True; but how much? Not the evil of losing or endangering ten souls. We are glad to see no such wild and foolish assertions in the volume before us. As we have said, it is remarkable for its honest admission of dangers and evils attending revivals. In fact these admissions are such, that, taken in connexion with another point to which we will advert, they seem to us to invalidate, if not to overthrow, the extraordinary pretensions of modern revivals. Dr. Sprague has given us a



long and admirable Lecture on "Evils to be avoided in connexion with revivals," from which we would gladly make large extracts, had we room, for we could hardly find language that would better express our own views. Among the evils that he admits, are the encouraging false hopes, self-confidence, self-deception, censoriousness, ostentation, passion, fanaticism, indecorum, irreverence, sectarianism, false standards of character, undervaluing divine institutions, coldness and declension, hasty admissions to the church, and infidelity. Now it were very unjust to say, that revivals alone are chargeable with such evils, for most of them may be found in connexion with all religious systems and measures. But when we see, as the last five years abundantly prove, that the most strenuous defenders of revivals are not only forced to admit, that these seasons are peculiarly fruitful of such evils, but are so alarmed as to write letters, hold conventions, and publish books, to prevent or counteract these evils,\* we have a right to draw an inference in favor of what we have always believed and said. In regard to one of the evils admitted, we find this remarkable assertion near the close of the eighth Lecture: "If we knew all who had rushed into infidelity in consequence of what they have seen and heard in connexion with revivals, I fear we should be overwhelmed by the discovery."

But it is in the Appendix to this volume, that we find the most abundant confirmation of all we have ever said of the evils of revivals. There are here twenty Letters, making one hundred and sixty-five pages in small, close print; and the impression, left upon the mind of every one who reads them, must be, that revivals are at best very hazardous experiments, taking the accounts of the most intelligent of their advocates. All the evils just mentioned are specified again and again, by these writers, in a way that shows them to be the almost invariable attendants of these excitements. The "new measures" are spoken of with unqualified censure by some, and recommended by none. The system of "anxious seats," so called "in bad English," as Dr. Griffin well says, is pointedly condemned, and the

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\* In the late session of the General Assembly at Philadelphia, a resolution was offered, and prevailed, to prepare a pastoral letter to the churches, "to counteract the disorderly practices" connected with revivals.

whole practice, in its various modes, of calling out new converts, or those who think themselves such, and making them "commit themselves," is treated as it deserves. It is admitted, that these measures do little else than encourage the self-confident and the self-righteous. Dr. Miller, of Princeton, gives some facts.

"On a late occasion, and in a house of worship not very far distant from this place, when, after a solemn discourse, a request was made, that all who were anxious, or resolved to attend to their spiritual interests, should immediately arise and signify their determination; the *first* person that arose was a young man, in whom the odor of strong drink was very offensive; who was evidently more than half drunk at the time; and who never, before or afterwards, manifested any serious concern on the subject. In another place and on another occasion, when a similar request was made, the *only* person that arose was a woman of very dubious character, who is not supposed, I believe, by any one, to have been, either then or since, under any thing that deserves to be called real anxiety of mind." — *Appendix*, p. 40.

There are several general statements as to the improper means often resorted to in aid of revivals. We give one from Mr. McIlvaine's letter.

"Great scandal has been raised by indiscretion, and what I cannot call by any lighter name than *fraud*, on the part of some seekers of a revival. The agency of the Holy Spirit, as the beginning and ending, has been almost or entirely set aside. A revival has been represented and sought for as an article of manufacture, for which you have only to set the machinery and raise the steam of excitement, caring little with what fuel, and converts will be made to hand. Artifices to catch attention; devices to entrap the careless; representations to create impression; an exaggerated style of preaching to produce alarm; to shake suspicious hopes and raise a state of general excitement, no matter of what kind, so that it brings people to hear; have in some cases been put into requisition, over which truth, and reverence, and humility, and faith must weep, and which have done more to injure revivals in certain places, than all the direct opposition of coldness and unbelief. Blessed be God, these things are not characteristic of revivals of religion, but only of some minds associated with the name. In the great majority of what have been called by this name, they have not appeared, or have been only very partial exceptions to the general rule. But in proportion as

a revival-spirit shall spread in the churches, will the danger of these mischiefs increase. The very excellence of the cause will be its exposure to the abuse of unbalanced zeal and to the devices of Satan." — *Appendix*, p. 90.

A convenient way this, in which to account for these abuses. And a singular "revival-spirit" must that be, which, coming immediately from God, will yet multiply evils in proportion as it extends. This letter, however, is one of the best in the collection. Mr. McIlvaine speaks fearlessly of the danger which we have always thought one of the greatest in revivals, — that of encouraging the idea, "that the love of meetings is religion."

Some of the writers say, that no marked revival has ever visited their people. Among these we were surprised to find Dr. Payson, of Portland, whose letter is dated 1821, and who says, though he had then been connected with his society thirteen years, "we have had no general revival, but there has been some religious attention during the whole period of my ministry."

Dr. Griffin's letter is characteristic. He gives an account of the eight revivals which his college has enjoyed in twenty-six years, with the number of converts and backsliders, in that cold, official manner, in which the keeper of an almshouse would make out the returns of the new arrivals and the dead. There is honesty however in the following passages, and some information may be gained from them.

"I have no fellowship with harsh or violent measures; such as abruptly telling a professor, that she has no religion and is going directly to hell (merely because she is cold); and when she is horror-struck and begs you to pray for her, tearing yourself away and saying, I *won't* pray for you, and breaking out of the room, leaving her in agonies on the floor; all to shake her off from dependence on you, but really endangering her reason and life." "Nor have I any more complacency in public personalities; such as calling people by name in prayer or preaching; holding up certain neighbourhoods as subjects of public prayer, on account of their special wickedness or neglects; and, worse than all, deliberately laboring to make sinners angry, in order to show them how they hate God, and his people, and his truth; thus doing evil that good may come." — *Appendix*, pp. 163, 164.

It will not be inferred, that these Letters speak only of evils connected with revivals. They are strong in assu-

rances, that these seasons are truly "showers of mercy," and the immediate work of God; though this they only assert, without attempting to prove it. Many cases of revival are given in detail, of which a few are said to have been the result of no extraordinary means, nor attended with any extravagant demonstrations. If this be strictly true, they are indeed singular cases. One of them we think it but justice to give at length, as the most remarkable. It is from the letter of Dr. M<sup>c</sup>Dowell, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey.

"The next revival, with which the Lord favored my ministry, visibly commenced in December, 1812. It was on a Communion Sabbath. There was nothing peculiarly arousing in the preaching. I was not expecting such an event; neither, as far as I have ever discovered, was there any peculiar engagedness in prayer, or special desire or expectation, on the part of Christians. I saw nothing unusual in the appearance of the congregation; and it was not until after the services of the day were ended, when several called, in deep distress, to ask me what they should do to be saved, that I knew that the Lord was specially in this place. This was a day of such power (though I knew it not at the time) that as many as *thirty*, who afterwards joined the church, were then first awakened. And it is a remarkable circumstance, that the same powerful influence was experienced, on the same day, in both of the Presbyterian churches in the neighbouring town of Newark. It was also communion season in both those churches. This revival continued about a year; and the number of persons added to the communion of this church, as its fruits, were about one hundred and ten. The subjects of this revival, generally, were deeply and long distressed, and, in many instances, their distress affected their bodily frames. Frequently sobbing aloud was heard in our meetings, and, in some instances, there was a universal trembling, and in others a privation of bodily strength, so that the subjects were not able to get home without help. In this respect this revival was different from any others which I have witnessed. I never dared to speak against this bodily agitation, lest I should be found speaking against the Holy Ghost; but I never did any thing to encourage it. It may be proper here to relate one case of a young man, who was then a graduate of one of our colleges, and is now a very respectable and useful minister of Christ. Near the commencement of the revival, he was led, for the first time, reluctantly, and out of complaisance to his sisters, to a meeting in a private house. I was present, and spoke two or three times between prayers, in which some of my people led. The audience was

solemn, but perfectly still. I commenced leading in the concluding prayer. A suppressed sob reached my ears; it continued and increased. I brought the prayer speedily to a close, and cast my eyes over the audience, when, behold, it was this careless, proud young man, who was standing near me, leaning on his chair, sobbing and trembling in every part, like the Philippian jailor. He raised his eyes towards me, and then tottered forward, threw his arms on my shoulders, and cried out, "What shall I do to be saved?" A scene ensued, the like of which I never witnessed. The house was full, and there was immediately, by the power of sympathy I suppose, a universal sobbing through the assembly. He repeatedly begged me to pray for him. I felt so overcome with the solemnity of the scene, and fearful of the disorder which might ensue in the excited state of feeling, that I held this trembling young man for half an hour, without speaking a word. I then persuaded him to go home with me, and the audience to retire. His strength was so weakened, that he had to be supported. From that hour he appeared to give his whole soul to the subject of religion. He continued in a state of deep anxiety and distress for nearly two months, when he settled down in a peaceful state of mind, hoping in the Saviour."—*Appendix*, pp. 63, 64.

We have no disposition to speak lightly of such cases; but we see nothing in the most wonderful of them that requires us to believe in miraculous influence; nor can we forget, what some of these writers tell us, that even their confidence in the correctness of the reports of revivals has "been exceedingly diminished."

We come then to these results, and are greatly confirmed in them by the book before us. Revivals are peculiarly liable to abuses and great evils, by the admission of all. Their best influences can never be distinguished from the worst by their immediate effects; and their remote effects can seldom be traced with entire confidence. They exhibit nothing that cannot be explained by reference to human means and common principles. The spirit of God may be in the midst of them, but only as it is granted to all who sincerely ask and earnestly seek it. Connect these conclusions with another important point, to which we intended more particularly to refer, the definition which many of these men give of a revival. Take, for instance, Dr. Wayland's definition: "By revivals of religion I mean special seasons, in which the minds of men, within a certain district,

or in a certain congregation, are more than usually susceptible of impression from the exhibition of moral truth." It is admitted also, that private exercises are more important at such times, than at any other, and may be more effectual; that "there may be a true revival where all is calm and noiseless." Moreover we are told, that seasons of revival are marked by the amount of "religious instruction" given, a feature quite new to us. In the possibility, occurrence, and blessing of such revivals, we believe. We pray and would strive for them. Let men admit the dangers and evils that are admitted in this volume; let them lay aside the machinery and measures which are here censured; let them proclaim a revival there, and there only, where there is an increased soberness and active interest in all that is true, and spiritual, and imperishable, all that can exalt society and lead men to Christ and God,—then we will believe, and unite, and heartily rejoice.

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- ART. V.—1. *Christian Messenger*. By B. W. STONE and JOHN T. JOHNSON, Elders in the Church of Christ. 12mo. [Published monthly.] Georgetown, Kentucky.  
 2. *The Millennial Harbinger*, Edited by ALEXANDER CAMEBELL. 8vo. [Published monthly.] Bethany, Virginia.  
 3. *The Evangelist*. By WALTER SCOTT. [Published monthly.] 12mo. Cincinnati, Ohio.

THE first of these periodical publications is supported by the Christian Connexion; the other two by the Reformed Baptists, or Reformers, as they are commonly called. We shall throw together such slight notices as we have been able to collect from these works, and from other sources, of the history and principles of both denominations, and their prospects in the West.

The oldest society in the Christian Connexion was formed in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in March, 1803. The brethren professed to renounce all impositions of mere human authority in matters of faith and conscience, and to come together on the common ground of believers in the gospel, each one reserving to himself the right, as a member

of the society, to interpret the gospel according to the light which God should give him. A similar movement, not from concert, but from a common feeling of impatience under the tyranny of established creeds and ecclesiastical judicatories, was made about the same time throughout the United States; in consequence of which the denomination almost immediately arose into consequence alike for its numbers and its zeal. In New England it consisted for the most part, in the beginning, of secessions from the regular Baptists; in the South, of secessions from the Methodists; in the West, of secessions from the Presbyterians.

The statistics of the body, from its want of organization, or a regular correspondence among its members, must depend, more than such computations usually do, on conjecture. Mr. Stone, writing in 1829, makes the number of congregations in the Christian Connexion in the United States to be fifteen hundred, and the number of communicants to be one hundred and fifty thousand; and allowing, as is usual in such estimates, at least four hearers, on an average, to every communicant, he concludes, that the whole number of souls actually under the influence of this denomination must exceed half a million. The *Quarterly Register and Journal*, in 1830, gives them one thousand churches, three hundred ministers, and thirty thousand communicants. Mr. Flint, in the second edition of his excellent *History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley*, published the present year, gives them two hundred ministers, eight hundred congregations, twenty-five thousand communicants, and two hundred and seventy-five thousand worshippers. The remarkable discrepancy in these estimates does not appear to have originated in any real or supposed decline of the denomination in numbers or influence; during the three last years, taking the whole country together. From the best evidence which we have been able to collect, it is probable that Mr. Stone has not much overstated the present number of congregations in the Connexion; but that he has overstated, by at least one half, the number of communicants, and, nearly in the same proportion, the number of souls otherwise connected with the societies. Mr. Clough, in his letter to Mr. Smallfield, says, that the minutes of the Conferences, in 1827, gave "an aggregate of about five hundred ministers"; they may now amount to seven hundred and fifty.

They are singularly fortunate in their name, not merely because it is the most proper in itself, and the first given to believers, and, as some contend, by divine injunction, but because, while it answers all the purposes of a distinguishing appellation, it has not the effect, in itself considered, like almost every other known in the church, to suggest and keep alive sectarian distinctions and jealousies. For a time, it is true, they had to submit, almost universally, and still have to submit in some places, to a mispronunciation of their name, being called *Christ-yans*; but this is passing away every where, as a mere vulgarism. While others are content to be called Calvinists or Arminians, Episcopalians or Presbyterians, they alone, one of the most recent sects, and, we may add, one of the most despised, will go down in history as "the Christians."

Of their distinctive opinions and sentiments it is not easy to speak, as each one appears to have brought into the Connexion the peculiar theological prejudices in which he was educated; and it has not been the aim, nor the policy of the party, to produce a real or seeming uniformity in matters of mere speculation. Neither have any pains been taken to define with accuracy and precision their general points of agreement, except as regards their unanimous rejection of creeds, and confessions, and ecclesiastical authority over faith and conscience. As might have been confidently expected, however, of a body who renounced all other guides, in the investigation of religious truth, but the word of God, they are understood to have become every where, with scarcely a single exception, anti-Calvinistic and anti-Trinitarian. In the Western country, where they have adhered, most faithfully, to the original principle of union, they continue to flourish, and are increasing at this moment as rapidly, perhaps, as at any former period; but in other places, it is understood that serious difficulties and misunderstandings have arisen, by which their progress has been checked.

The establishment of the Christian church in the West may be said to date from the secession of five Presbyterian clergymen from the regular presbyteries, with which they had previously been connected, in the neighbourhood of Lexington, Kentucky, and the formation by them of an independent association, known by the name of the Spring-



field Presbytery. This took place in 1803, not in consequence of any charges brought against the moral or religious character of the seceders, but voluntarily on their part, because they would not be amenable any longer to human tribunals, which required them to receive for doctrines the commandments of men. Nothing, however, could save them from a storm of abuse and a series of petty persecutions, from their Orthodox brethren; and the synod, hoping, it would seem, by prompt and energetic measures to crush the growing discontent, even went so far as to send agents into their societies, to declare their ministerial functions suspended, and their pulpits vacant. Happily their congregations, for the most part, remained firm; the influence and popularity of the seceders, in the community generally, were increased, rather than diminished, by the wrongs they endured; the Methodists, especially, received them with open arms, in conjunction with whom, and the Cumberland Presbyterians, they were among the most active and successful in promoting the great revival, which prevailed about that time, and for several years successively, in Kentucky and Tennessee.

Mr. Stone, the senior editor of the "Messenger," was one of the proscribed five, who instituted the Springfield Presbytery, and appears, at that time, to have entertained no doubts about the validity of infant baptism; but he, and the denomination generally, soon became converts to the practice of adult baptism by immersion, though not disposed to insist upon it, like the Reformed Baptists, as a condition of Christian fellowship. After this change they agreed, in most respects, with the Free-will Baptists, in regard to what are called "doctrines of grace," but were understood to differ much more generally and widely, than the latter, from the common opinions respecting the Trinity and Atonement, and to be much more jealous of the absolute and entire independency of their churches on one another. Of course, it was hardly to be expected, that a sect or denomination, gathered in seasons of great excitement, having but little regular communication or correspondence among themselves, acknowledging no common standard or authority but the Bible, and but poorly prepared to understand that according to fixed and generally received principles of interpretation, could go on together, for any length of time, in

perfect harmony. On the subject of the practical errors and extravagances into which the Western Christians have fallen from time to time, Mr. Stone speaks, in the following extract, with his accustomed candor and good sense.

"At the commencement of our struggle for Christian liberty, we acted on the defensive; our weapons were those afforded us by the Bible. These, in the spirit of humility and unceasing prayer, we wielded to good effect against the combined, the mighty, and innumerable forces of opponents. Our only hope, confidence, and strength was the Lord. In this humble war against such fearful odds, we firmly stood, gained ground, and prevailed beyond all calculation. Public opinion was in our favor, and multitudes crowded to the standard of truth and liberty. Here, pride, that busy sin, imperceptibly began to inflate us on account of our successes; and what might have been our end, had not the scourge of Shakerism been inflicted, God only knows. This was a bitter, but a humiliating pill; and though an evil, yet overruled for our salvation. Again we rallied our broken and discouraged forces; again renewed our fervent applications to God for help, and humbled ourselves at his feet; again he heard and restored us; and again his truth was attended to by many, and received in the love of it.

"Here is another error into which we fell. Rescued from the destructive snares of Shakerism, some of our brethren wished to make a stand, and to set up a formulary of doctrine, which should speak, 'Hitherto thou mayest come, but no farther.' This was thought necessary to guard us against similar evils to those just before experienced. Confidence in the Bible to effect this, was considerably lost. This plan was warmly and successfully opposed by a large majority, who were determined to stand or fall with the Bible alone. The minority withdrew from us, and united with the different sects around us, and soon, very soon, drank deeply into their spirit, and became our bitter opposers.

"Now, it was confidently predicted that we must fall. The pride and boast of party were against them. Their overcharged artillery, levelled at us, burst on themselves to their great injury, but none to us. Here again we erred; we substituted offensive instead of defensive war, and attacked our opposers in their strongly entrenched speculations and opinions. In this we appeared to succeed; and the judgment of multitudes was, that our opinions were more correct. In this offensive warfare we gained popularity, but lost much of humility and fervent piety. The loss infinitely exceeded the gain. This was seen, felt, and deplored. We had zeal, but it was too much to in-

crease our numbers and to disseminate and confirm our opinions. For a world in ruins there were, comparatively, few tears, few sighs, and but feeble exertions; sectarians were proscribed by some, not in the spirit of meekness and love, but with a bitterness unbecoming a humble Christian. Many seemed to glory in the flesh, I mean, in having many persons of influence and wealth to join our ranks. Here, truly, have we erred and gone astray. These acts I disapprove, and am ashamed of them." — *Christian Messenger*, VI. pp. 198, 199.

The statements, sometimes made in the journals unfriendly to the Christians, that they are declining in numbers, and losing their hold on the public favor, are, we are confident, without foundation, at least as regards the West. Mr. Flint, who, as we have shown, adopts the lowest estimates of the churches and communicants in their Connexion, says, the present year: "The Christians, who are Unitarian in their sentiments, have four hundred flourishing congregations in Ohio and Kentucky." They are also to be found in considerable numbers in Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, and Georgia. Our readers may be able, perhaps, to form a better judgment of the numbers and strength of the Christian church in Kentucky from the following table, drawn up last year, and believed at that time to be exact and full, as far as it went.

" Name of the House, or Place of Worship.	The County in which it is situated.	The Year the Church was planted.	Number of Members.
1. Republican (Wood)	Fayette	1803	205
2. Bethel (Brick)	Do.	Do.	85
3. Union (Do.)	Do.	1823	84
4. Berea (Do.)	Do.	1827	40
5. Lexington (Do.)	Do.	1816	24
6. Mt. Tabor (Stone)	Do.	1803	20
7. Cane-Ridge (Wood)	Bourbon	Do.	115
8. Rockbridge	Do.	unknown	45
9. Flat Run	Do.	1820	55
10. Mt. Carmel (Brick)	Do.	1816	45
11. Antioch (Do.)	Do.	1827	48
12. Millersburg (Wood)	Do.	1824	42
13. Paris (Brick)	Do.	1828	66
14. Clintonville (Do.)	Do.	1830	15

"In the above churches, embracing only two counties, there are 10 preachers and 889 members." — *Christian Messenger*, VI. p. 48.

Allowing, as usual, four worshippers on an average for every communicant, and making our inferences from the state of things in the two counties above mentioned, it follows, that the Christians, before their late union with the Reformed Baptists, had about one twelfth of the whole population.

We copy in this connexion part of a letter from Georgia, as throwing considerable light on the condition and policy of the Christians prior to the late union.

*" August 21st, 1829.*

" BROTHER STONE, — The brethren and friends of the north-western section of this state [Georgia], having solicited me to inform you of the present situation of the churches of Christ among us, I have, in compliance with their wishes, been induced to make the following statements:

" In the bounds of my circuit there are twenty-three churches or congregations. These churches, it is thought, will, upon an average, number twenty-five members of good standing.

" If I am correct in these calculations, and I feel confident that in them I have fallen below the real number of communicants, you will discover our number to be at least five hundred and seventy-five church members. With us there are twenty elders, and six licensed preachers and exhorters.

" We have an annual conference of the elders and preachers. Deacons, delegates, and private or lay members present, have the right of participating in all matters which come before the conference. Our conference assumes no authority to legislate; nor does it carry into effect its own resolutions by penal enactments, but by simple recommendations. The powers of the conference are restricted to the bare regulation of the temporal concerns of the church; nor can it go one step beyond this, without manifest innovations, in which case the members are not bound by any natural or moral tie to submit. Our annual conference takes place, or rather commences, on Friday before the third Sabbath in December, annually.

" Our camp-meetings commence the last of July, or first of August, in every year, and are carried on till the first of the ensuing November, at various times and places. They are conducted in the main after the fashion of the Methodist camp-meetings.

" With regard to doctrine, perhaps I ought not to say any thing, for fear it might be said that I exhibit something too near a tie to a confession of faith. But an idea of this kind I as heartily discard as I do any and every confession of faith under the sun, the Bible excepted.

"This book, the Bible, we love, because we do believe it the truth from God. We regard it as the only rule of Christian faith, and consequently we defend it to the last point. Our only source of sorrow is, that we have not sufficient strength to proclaim it out to Christianized infidels and to heathen lands. Yes, my brother, I feel, as regards myself, willing to spend and be spent in the glorious work of bringing back a lost and ruined world to the purer fountain of life, whence flow the clear streams of eternal salvation. But with regard to the doctrine, generally taught by our preachers here, and which is, with some slight shades of difference, received by the churches, I can say, they are such as are taught in other states by the Christian preachers.

"We believe, in the first place, that Jesus Christ is truly and properly the Son of God. Secondly, that he existed with the Father before the world was created. Thirdly, we believe that Jesus Christ, our Saviour, is the constituted Lord of all things. We believe in atonement, as expressed in your letters, or address, to the churches of Kentucky. We believe in baptism by immersion, after conversion, &c. Our cause in this state is advancing, in some neighbourhoods rapidly, and in others but slowly. The third day of last July I baptized an old lady of seventy years. She had formerly been a Methodist. On the fourth Sabbath of the same month, I baptized four, of the following ages: sister Montgomery, eighty; sister Jones, sixty-three; sister Truett, sixty-one; and brother Truett, seventy-three." — *Christian Messenger*, IV. 44 — 46.

For the same purpose we give the following:

"Extract of a letter from Elder Henry B. Hays, dated Flemington, North Carolina, June 5, 1830. — 'It is generally a dull time with professors of religion in this state, though we have experienced some refreshing seasons in different places, which causes us to thank God and take courage. The Christian connexion, in this state, labor under disadvantages. There are something like twenty or thirty preachers, and several hundred members, who believe in infant baptism, through the influence of Elder O'Kelly, as I believe. They hold annual conferences, sometimes in this state, and sometimes in the central part of Virginia. They discard immersion, and consider all such as practice it Baptists. There is also a conference, to which I belong, held annually in this and the adjoining counties, which practise baptism by immersion. A correspondence has been opened between our conference and the F. Baptist conference in the Eastern part of this state. They appear to be gaining ground fast, and are anxious for a union

with the Christian connexion. Much good, I humbly trust, will be done by our united exertions in building up the waste places of Zion. Elder E. Hutchens, of the state of Maine, of the F. Baptist communion, has been laboring in this state with good success; but is now about to leave us for the state of Indiana.' " — *Christian Messenger*, IV. p. 215.

For some time back, and especially since the union with the Reformers, the Christians have refrained, very judiciously, from the Trinitarian controversy, to which, about four or five years ago, they were not a little addicted. The following account of a public disputation on this subject, which took place in Cumberland county, Kentucky, is given by a Christian elder, and confirmed by the moderator who presided at the meeting.

"Near the close of 1828, Mr. Dungan, a Methodist preacher, preached on Crocas creek in this county; and after preaching, in conversation with some gentlemen, said, that he would discuss the Divinity of Jesus Christ with Mr. Jourdan, or find a man to do it. Mr. Jourdan, on hearing this, wrote Mr. Dungan a friendly challenge; giving him the privilege, should he decline the invitation, to fill his place with the man of his choice. He declined, and Mr. Stamper took his place, and wrote to Mr. Jourdan his acceptance of the challenge. Soon after they met in Burksville, and in the presence of Messrs. Saufley, Owsley, and Taylor, agreed upon the time, place, and some other preliminaries. These are the circumstances that gave rise to the debate, as near as I can recollect. On Wednesday the eighth, they met, but the day was spent in deciding upon the third moderator, and the opening of the debate. It was finally agreed, that Dr. Joel Owsley should serve, and that Mr. Stamper should open and conclude with a half hour each. Never did I see a set of clergymen, so highly impregnated with the hope of victory, as Mr. Stamper and his brethren appeared to be, at the commencement of the debate. But it was manifest to many, during the first intermission, that their hope of victory was on the decline; and about the close of that day, great discouragement appeared among them; and before the close of the debate, hope seemed entirely to disappear. But to return, — we were then dismissed to meet next morning at nine o'clock. About the time appointed, the parties arrived, and a considerable multitude. Mr. Stamper began, directly introducing Arians and Socinians, alleging, that all anti-Trinitarians properly belong to one or the other of those systems. And after making some quotations in his favor

(as he supposed), his time expired. Mr. Jourdan then arose, and observed to the people, that he wished them to understand distinctly, that he stood on the negative side of the proposition, and that his opponent was bound on the affirmative, according to their preliminaries.

"He also remarked to them, that the Trinity was not the subject of discussion, as his opponent had insinuated, but that it was, whether Jesus Christ was the very and eternal God or not. He then attended to his quotations and arguments, particularly answering him where there was any necessity." — *Christian Messenger*, IV. pp. 116, 117.

Mr. Stamper and his friends, alarmed, it would seem, at the impression which the discussion was making on the audience, were importunate, on the second morning of the debate, that it should close that day, and not be continued to the end of the third day, as originally intended and agreed upon. To this Mr. Jourdan at length consented, "though not more than half through his arguments," being assured by those whom he consulted, that the discussion might be considered as having already gone in his favor.

"In Mr. Jourdan's last discourse, he produced many positive declarations from sacred writ, to prove the soul-cheering fact, that Jesus Christ is truly the Son of the living God. And with all the confidence of divine truth, and in full assurance that he had gained the point in debate, he gave the following challenge to the Methodist clergy:— Proposing to meet any one of them, who would engage to prove the Trinity a Bible doctrine." — *Christian Messenger*, IV. p. 118.

So far as the Western Christians have arrived at definite conceptions of Christ's sonship, they appear to be substantially the same with those advocated by Dr. Worcester in his "Bible News"; and their speculations on the Atonement accord still more entirely with those given by the same writer in his work on that subject. It is but justice to add, that in the blamelessness of their lives, in the warmth and earnestness of their piety, and in their zeal for the public good, especially as connected with a general reform in public morals and manners and the extinction of slavery, they are surpassed, considering their means and opportunities, by no denomination.

The Reformed Baptists, or Campbellites, as they are commonly designated by their opponents, are greatly indebted for the consequence into which they have grown, to the in-

defatigable labors of Alexander Campbell, editor of the "Harbinger," and Walter Scott, editor of the "Evangelist"; both natives of Scotland. Mr. Campbell has acquired fame throughout the country, as a public disputant, particularly in the discussions with Walker and McCalla, on infant baptism, and more recently with Robert Owen; on which occasions he is said to have exhibited considerable resources as a scholar, and unequalled promptness and adroitness in managing the debate. As a controversial writer he evinces courage, self-command, a good share of logical acumen, and a playful and biting sarcasm, blemished with occasional coarseness; at times reminding us, in his most felicitous turns, of Robert Robinson. In one of the numbers of the "Harbinger," he recounts the changes which his mind and heart have undergone on the subject of religion; from which it appears that he was brought up a strict Calvinist, and went through, when young, a Calvinistic conversion, reading and devouring the devotional works most popular among the Evangelicals, and studying their learned and doctrinal treatises "as he studied geometry." And yet, he goes on,

"I solemnly say, that, although I was considered, at the age of twenty-four, a much more systematic preacher and text-expositor, than I am now considered, and more accustomed to strew my sermons with scores of texts in proof of every point, I am conscious that I did not understand the New Testament; not a single book of it. Matthew Henry and Thomas Scott were my favorite commentators. I read the whole of Thomas Scott's Commentary in family worship, section by section. I began to read the Scriptures critically. Works of criticism, from Michaelis down to Sharp on the Greek article, were resorted to. While these threw light on many passages, still the book as a whole, the religion of Jesus Christ as a whole, was hid from me. I took the *naked text*, and followed common sense; I read it, subject to the ordinary rules of interpretation, and thus it was it became to me a new book. Then I was called a *natural* man; because I took the *natural rules* of interpretation. Till then I was a *spiritual* man, and a *regenerated* interpreter. But alas! as I learned my Bible I lost my orthodoxy, and from being one of the most evangelical, in the estimation of many, I became the most heretical. I can only say for the spirit which actuated me, that it was a most vehement desire to understand the truth. I did most certainly put the world out of my sight. I cared no more for popularity,



than I did for the shadow which followed my body when the sun shone. I valued truth more than the gold of Ophir, and I sought her with my whole heart, as for hidden treasure. My eye was *single*, as King James's Translators said. I paid no court to the prejudices of the world, and did sacrifice every worldly object to the Bible. This much of my experience and history I deem due to you for the narrative you have given. I would only add, that experience has taught me, that to get a victory over the world, over the love of fame, and to hold in perfect contempt human honor, adulation, and popularity, will do more to make the New Testament intelligible, than all the commentators that ever wrote." — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. I. p. 138.

Mr. Campbell came to this country a Presbyterian minister, and officiated for some time in that capacity, until, being convinced of the invalidity of infant baptism, he was himself immersed, and joined the regular Baptists. In this connexion he soon afterwards began the publication of "The Christian Baptist," a monthly journal, and continued it until the completion of the seventh volume in 1829. The strictly Orthodox among his brethren became more and more uneasy under the freedom and fearlessness of his "developments" and "proclamations," as editor of this work; but they were slow openly to impeach or denounce one, whose influence and popularity in the country were so extensive and so well established. The credit or responsibility of being the first to preach the Ancient Gospel and the Ancient Order of Things, does not, it seems, belong to him, but to Mr. Scott, who "made the experiment," as he expresses it, in December, 1827, in the Western Reserve, Ohio. Mr. Campbell, however, from the beginning, appears to have coöperated in the measure, and to have done more by his writings, than all other causes put together, to give it currency and stability. A correspondent of the New York "Baptist Register," unfriendly to the reform, says, in 1829, "Mr. Campbell's paper and their vigorous missionary efforts are making great achievements. It is said that one half of the Baptist churches in Ohio have embraced this sentiment, and become what they call Christian Baptists. It is spreading, like a mighty contagion, through the Western states, wasting Zion in its progress. In Kentucky its desolations are said to be even greater than in Ohio." In one instance, a large Association became infected as one man,

and voted itself extinct as an ecclesiastical body, that it might make room for the restoration of the ancient order and discipline. The innovation found its way, also, into churches of other denominations; and cases are mentioned of Universalist and Methodist ministers, who came over to it, and were immersed for the remission of their sins.

Orthodoxy in alarm flew, as usual, to anathemas, proscriptions, and excommunications; in consequence of which, it is intimated, that not a few, who had been most eager for reform, in societies where they constituted but a small minority, relapsed or temporized. The faithful, however, rallied in considerable numbers, especially in West Virginia, West Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and formed themselves into distinct societies, according to what they conceived to be the primitive constitution of the church; but it should be mentioned, perhaps among their other affinities to "the ancient order of things," that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, were called. Mr. Campbell gives, "as a sample," the following list of churches in the county of Brooke, Virginia, and in the counties adjacent, as they stood in the autumn of 1830.

"Wellsburg, containing about ninety members; Bethany, eighty; the Cove, thirty-five; King's Creek, fifty-three. In the conterminous parts of Pennsylvania; Pittsburg, ninety members; Noblestown, forty-five; Eldersville, thirty-six; Claysville, sixteen; Hickory, thirty-five. In Ohio; Steubenville, thirty; Smithfield, thirty-five; Cadiz, twenty-nine; Grave Creek, Va., thirty-six; Wheeling, just commenced, twelve. None of these are more than thirty-eight miles from Bethany. Some of them within a few months have commenced, and all of them are without any bishop, or public teacher, properly so called. They all meet every Lord's day to break the loaf of blessing, to commemorate the death and resurrection of Jesus, to unite in every part of Christian worship, and to be instructed by the Apostles' teaching, watching over, and edifying one another in love. Of these fourteen congregations, containing together six hundred and twenty-four members, about three hundred and fifty were immersed during the last year, ending August last. In this district of country, not more than three public advocates were employed, and these only occasionally during the year." — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. I. pp. 429, 430.

In point of influence, property, and general intelligence,

it would seem that, as a body, they fall below the Christians, and perhaps the Methodists. This will help, perhaps, to explain the fact, that, notwithstanding their rational and liberal views on most subjects, they have already suffered considerably from the irruptions of fanaticism, and even of a fanaticism so gross and debasing as Mormonism, by which several of the active and leading Reformers on the Reserve were carried away last year. Now that they have become affiliated and more or less amalgamated with the Christian denomination, it is to be hoped and expected that they will adopt the same name. For some time before this union took place, the name of Baptist having become odious, they generally spake of one another, after the manner of the early believers, as "the disciples," or as the "reformed," or rather as the "reforming brethren," intimating that they looked on the reformation as being only in progress. They rely very much, it is plain, for the explanation of difficult passages in Scripture on Mr. Campbell's "Harbinger," and also on a version of the New Testament, published by him a few years ago, compiled from the translations of Campbell, Macknight, and Doddridge, with amendments of his own, and notes. We regret to say, that the specimens given in the last mentioned work, and elsewhere, of this gentleman's abilities, as a sound and exact biblical critic, have fallen far short of our expectations, and of his reputation and undoubted accomplishments in other respects.

The following table will enable the reader, with a little attention, to understand what is meant by the Ancient Gospel and the Ancient Order of the Church, of which so much is said in the writings of the Reformers.

**"ANCIENT GOSPEL.**

**" Faith, Repentance, Baptism, Remission, Holy Spirit, Resurrection.**

**1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6**

- 1 God, Christ, Holy Spirit, Evidence,  
2 Conversion, Reconciliation,  
3 Remission, Obedience, Regeneration, Washing, &c.  
4 Pardon, N. Covenant, Justification, Adoption, Salvation,  
5 Sanctification, Illumination, &c.,  
6 Judgment, Eternal Life, Punishment.

**" ANCIENT ORDER.**

**" Government, Worship, Ordinances, Discipline, Man. & Cus. Litera.**

**1**                      **2**                      **3**                      **4**                      **5**                      **6**

- 1 Officers, Treasury, &c.**

- 2 Prayer and Singing, Reading, Ex. Teaching, Preaching,
- 3 Baptism, Lord's Supper, Collection,
- 4 Private, Public and Mixed Offences Examined,
- 5 Hospitality, Holy Kiss, S. Hands, Emb., Wash. Feet,
- 6 Old and New Testament, &c." — *Evangelist*, Vol. I. p. 93.

They hold that the truths of the Gospel, if fairly set before the mind with their evidence, may be and are understood and believed without supernatural aid; and that the effect of these truths on the heart, when thus understood and believed, is to induce repentance and reconciliation. The individual is then in a condition to be immersed; by virtue of which act, and not by virtue of any inward or spiritual change, his sins are remitted, and he is adopted into the family of God. He now becomes, and not before, a subject of the influences of the Holy Spirit, which, however, they do not think operates at the present day, except through the instrumentality of Christian truths and institutions; neither do they appear to have any clear convictions respecting the personality of the Holy Spirit. They believe that the punishment of the wicked, who die impenitent, will be absolutely eternal.

To the question, "Do you consider faith as the simple act of the mind, acknowledging the mere facts of the Gospel, irrespective of any divine agency exerted upon the faculties previously?" Mr. Campbell replies;

"It requires no supernatural agency upon the eye to see any object, if the object be a visible one. It requires no such agency upon the ear to hear any sound, if it be an audible sound. An angel can be seen as easily as a man, if he make himself visible. God can be heard if he speak audibly, without any supernatural agency upon the ear. So we can believe the testimony of God as easily as the testimony of man, if that testimony be presented in a credible manner. I know of no Scripture, of no reason, which makes a supernatural agency upon the senses of man, upon the faculties of man, upon the eye, the ear, the memory, imagination, or judgment of man, necessary to enable him to see, hear, or believe any thing visible, audible, or credible." — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. I. p. 356.

Again he says:

"It is hard to say what is commonly meant by 'the Holy Spirit.' But I mean, that not merely a holy temper of mind, but that Holy Spirit which dwelt in Jesus, that Spirit of God

which animates the body of Christ, that promised Spirit which dwells in the church of the living God. This is that spirit of holiness, which is received in consequence of our union with Christ, after we have put on Christ in immersion. As children, after their natural birth, inhale the spirit or air of this world, so the new-born babes, or the regenerated, as soon as born of the water, receive the Spirit which pervades the kingdom into which they are born ; and this Spirit is as necessary to their life and comfort, as breath is to the children of this world." — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. I. pp. 357, 358.

Once more, on regeneration :

"We then stated the affirmative of the proposition, and showed the different acceptations of the terms *to be born again*. Regeneration having been agreed to be equivalent to being born again, it was immaterial in the discussion which term we used. We then showed what ground was covered in the popular acceptance of the term, and what in the biblical import. In the popular import, regeneration included the quickening, the receiving of the spirit, a change of heart, and being born. In the Scriptural import, it denotes only the act of being born ; for the washing of regeneration is contrasted with, or, at least, distinguished from, the renewal of the Holy Spirit. We then spoke of the begetter, the impregnation of the mind by the word of truth, and of the act of being born of water and of spirit as distinct matters. We also noticed the deception practised by our opponents in representing us as including in our usage of the term all their ideas of regeneration, and then in representing us as including all their views in our sense of the act of immersion. Whereas we contended that a child is begotten and made alive before it is born, and that regeneration, in Scripture acceptance, meant neither more nor less than the act of *being born* of water." — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. II. p. 118.

The last extract could not be omitted, as attention to the distinctions here made is necessary to a right understanding of what is justly regarded as the distinguishing peculiarity of the Reformers,—immersion for the remission of sins. This they have carried, at least in some instances, so far as to add a clause to the baptismal formulary, saying, "For the remission of thy sins, I immerse thee into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." To do them justice, however, though they make baptism to be regeneration, they do not, high-churchmanlike, make its efficacy, as such, to depend on its regular administration ac-

cording to the rubric, no regard being had to the previous exercises and actual state of the recipient's mind. The objection, "You then make every immersed person a child of God, by the very act of immersion; and you represent every person as born of God who is born of water, or immersed," Mr. Campbell obviates, or thinks to obviate thus:

"Provided always, that he has been begotten of God; or, that he has been impregnated by the Gospel. If quickened by the Spirit of God before he is buried in the water, he is born of God, whenever he is born of water; just as every other child is born of its father, when born of its mother. But if he do not believe the Gospel, or, in other words, if he be not quickened by the word, he is not born of God when he is born of water, — he is, to speak after the manner of men, *still-born*." — *Millennial Harbinger, Extra*, p. 29.

He does not suppose that baptism or immersion clothes the believer with a new character, but he does suppose that it introduces him into a new state, and that, being in this new state, he stands in new relations to God, and Christ, and the Holy Spirit, and the promises of the Gospel. By baptism, or immersion, and by this alone, considered as an act of faith, he is introduced into a new state; and being in this state, and because he is in this state, and on this condition only, he has a right to consider himself as "pardoned, justified, reconciled, adopted, and saved." Hence it follows, that all believers, who have not been immersed, as such, for the remission of their sins, are to be numbered among the unregenerate; an inference which Mr. Campbell neither disowns, nor attempts to wink out of sight. "Begotten of God," he says, "they may be; but born of God they cannot be, until born of water." The objection then arises, that, according to Mr. Campbell's principles, none of the unimmersed can be saved. He answers:

"This is, or is not true, according as you understand the term *saved*. If you understand the term as defined in the preceding pages, they are not saved; for the *present* salvation of the gospel is that salvation into which we enter, when we become citizens of the kingdom of God. But whether they may enter into the kingdom of future and eternal glory after the resurrection, is a question much like that question long discussed in the schools; viz. Can infants who have been quickened, but who died before they were born, be saved? We may hope the best, but cannot speak with the certainty

of knowledge. One thing we know, that it is not a difficult matter for believers to be born of water ; and if any of them wilfully neglect or disdain it, we cannot hope for their future and eternal salvation. But we have no authority to speak comfortably to them who will not submit to the government of the Saviour." — *Millennial Harbinger, Extra*, p. 30.

Little as we like this doctrine in theory, we like it still less in its practical applications, judging from accounts like the following, given by Mr. Campbell himself.

"It is one thing to state and prove what the ancient gospel is, and another to make it the instrument of conversion to God. Of this I have made ample experiments. Within the last ten days I have been twice from home ; and, on each occasion, proclaimed the old gospel for the purpose of converting men to God. On these two occasions, *thirty* persons obeyed the gospel, were immersed for the remission of their sins, and translated into the kingdom of God's own Son. Many of these converts had no more intention of obeying the gospel one hour before, than I now have of becoming a Presbyterian. Nor can it be said that they were ignorant and unlearned persons, an easy prey to error, enthusiasts, or weak-minded. They were a fair average of the whole community. They were of both sexes, from eighteen to sixty years of age. Amongst them was one lawyer, one physician, and some of them were in full communion in Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian churches. Some of them had lately been skeptics in all religion, and one of them, on the morning of the day of his conversion, reviled and spoke evil of the ancient gospel. I left these converts rejoicing in God, in their new relation to him, in the pardon of their sins, and in being the adopted sons and daughters of the Lord God Almighty." — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. I. p. 366.

Where so much is made to depend on a momentary conviction (or more likely on a momentary feeling mistaken for a momentary conviction), merely because followed by a rite, instituted, as it would seem, for no other purpose than as a symbol of purity, it must lead continually, we are sure, to self-delusion and disappointment, and afterwards to disorders and scandals. It is amazing that a man, like Mr. Campbell, who on other topics affects and really exhibits so much liberality and good sense, should be so strenuous in urging a prejudice which, as far as it goes, argues, in our humble judgment, a lamentable deficiency of both.

One example will suffice of the ancient order of the

church, as understood by the Reformers, given in a letter from Christian County, Kentucky.

"The church at Noah Springs, established some eighteen months or two years ago, upon the New Testament, has greatly increased her members, and is still increasing. Some are added almost every Lord's day. It commenced with twenty-eight members. They now number about ninety. They have done away their monthly Saturday meetings, and now meet every first day of the week. Their order is as follows: After meeting early, say between nine and ten o'clock, they engage in singing hymns of praise to their exalted King. Next, an appropriate prayer is offered by one of the elders or bishops, (for they have four selected from among themselves.) An opportunity is then afforded to any who wish to make a profession of their faith in Jesus as the Messiah. If any come forward upon such profession, they are immersed into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and then they are received into the congregation as fellow-disciples. One of the elders then instructs the congregation from some portion of the holy oracles. Afterwards an exhortation by one of the others is delivered. The deacons then prepare and furnish the table. One of the elders, after singing an appropriate hymn, prays, and then breaks the bread. In like manner the wine is poured; and all who have been legally naturalized, and deport themselves as disciples, are authorized to participate, without regard to any human *theory* or *ism*, to commemorate and show forth the Lord's death. A hymn is then sung, and the brethren greet each other as fellow-disciples, by a shake of the hand, and then retire." — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. I. p. 425.

A passion for restoring at once, not only the positive institutions of the New Testament, as left by the Apostles, but the primitive manners and customs, has led some of them to inquire anxiously whether a community of goods, as practised in the church at Jerusalem, is not binding on Christians at the present day, and whether our Saviour's injunction to wash one another's feet, and the ancient mode of salutation, are not of perpetual obligation. Much harm is hardly to be expected, perhaps, from their speculations about "feet-washing," as they quaintly term it; but not so of the first mentioned subject, at a time when so many community projects are afloat among sciolists in political economy, nor yet of the last, as by their own confession "the disciples" have not always found it easy to make the



proper distinction between a "holy kiss," and a "common" one.

The Reformers, though strenuously insisting on the Ancient Gospel and Ancient Order, as they understand them, profess nevertheless, like the Christians, to be irreconcilable foes to sectarianism, and ready at all times to meet their brethren of every name, on the common ground of an honest belief in the Bible. For this reason they contend, that they themselves do not constitute a new sect, and also that they can consistently "fraternize" with Unitarians, Trinitarians, and Universalists, "except as hereinafter excepted." We give Mr. Campbell's words.

"I will now show how they cannot make a sect of us. We will acknowledge all as Christians who acknowledge the gospel facts, and obey Jesus Christ. 'But,' says one, 'will you receive a Unitarian?' 'No; nor a Trinitarian. We will have neither Unitarians nor Trinitarians.' 'How can this be?' 'Systems made Unitarians and Trinitarians. Renounce the system, and you renounce its creatures.'

"'But the creatures of other systems now exist, and some of them will come in your way. How will you dispose of them?' I answer, 'We will unmake them.' Again, I am asked, 'How will you unmake them?' I answer, 'By laying no emphasis upon their opinions. What is a Unitarian? One who contends that Jesus Christ is not the Son of God. Such a one has denied the faith, and therefore we reject him.' 'But,' says a Trinitarian, 'many Unitarians acknowledge that Jesus Christ is the Son of God in a sense of their own.' 'Admit it.' Then I ask, 'How do you know they have a sense of their own? Intuitively, or by their words?' 'Not intuitively, but by their words.' 'And what are those words? Are they Bible words? If they are, we cannot object to them; if they are not, we will not hear them, or, what is the same thing, we will not discuss them at all. If he will ascribe to Jesus all Bible attributes, names, works, and worship, we will not fight with him about scholastic words. But if he will not ascribe to him every thing which the first Christians ascribed, and worship and adore him as the first Christians did, we will reject him, not because of his private opinions, but because he refuses to honor Jesus as the first converts did, and withholds from him the titles and honors which God and his Apostles have bestowed upon him.'

"In like manner we will deal with a Trinitarian. If he will ascribe to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, all that the first believers ascribed, and nothing more, we will receive him;

but we will not allow him to apply scholastic and barbarous epithets to the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit. If he will dogmatize and become a factionist, we reject him; not because of his opinions, but because of his attempting to make a faction, or to lord it over God's heritage.

" 'And will you receive a Universalist too?' 'No; not as a Universalist. If a man, professing Universalist opinions, should apply for admission, we will receive him, if he will consent to use and apply all the Bible phrases in their plain reference to the future state of men and angels. We will not hearken to those questions which gender strifes, nor discuss them at all. If a person say such is his private opinion, let him have it as his private opinion, but lay no stress upon it; and if it be a wrong private opinion, it will die a natural death much sooner than if you attempt to kill it.' " — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. I. pp. 146, 147.

We are not much impressed with the force of this reasoning; but on such subjects it is chiefly important, doubtless, that a man should be right in his conclusions, however arrived at. We do not complain that it should be made a condition of Christian fellowship, that believers should consent in the use of Scriptural language in regard to disputed doctrines, leaving it for each individual to put that construction on this language which he thinks was intended. There is, however, a fallacy running through several of Mr. Campbell's papers on the distinction between differences respecting opinions, and differences respecting facts, practices, or institutions. Facts, practices, institutions are not opinions, it is true; but doubts may honestly arise, whether these facts, practices, or institutions have any proper or sufficient foundation in the word of God. One man may be of one opinion, and another man may be of another opinion on this question; so that, after all, the controversy will turn on a mere difference and an honest difference of opinion respecting the true import of Scripture, which, by Mr. Campbell's own confession, should present no bar to communion.

The Reformers were slow to connect themselves with the Christians, because the latter were avowedly Unitarians, and rejected the popular notions of atonement, and would not make immersion an express condition of admission to the Lord's table. By friendly conferences and mutual explanations an adjustment of these difficulties was at length effected, early in the present year, between the two denomi-

nations, in the neighbourhood of Lexington and Georgetown, in Kentucky; and there is every reason to expect, that the union and amalgamation, there commenced under the happiest auspices, will pervade the West. Since they have begun to send out their preachers in company, and hold their four days' meetings and their camp-meetings in common, a new impulse has been given to their zeal, and their prospects, it may be safely said, were never more encouraging.

They want books. Without meaning to speak disparagingly of their three periodical publications, neither of which has less than two thousand subscribers, and one is said to have above four thousand, most of the articles they contain are occasional and ephemeral, the topics being selected with a view, not to their relative importance in themselves considered, but to some temporary interest. Mr. Campbell is at this moment employed in preparing a third edition of his version of the New Testament, with large additions and emendations, from which we hope much good; though we regret extremely, that he did not adopt the translation of Gilbert Wakefield, or Archbishop Newcome, instead of a compilation from Campbell, Macknight, and Doddridge, all of them second-rate scholars, as the basis of the work. They also want able and thorough treatises on the evidences of Christianity, and the principles of interpretation, and on ecclesiastical history, which, to their preachers especially, are becoming every day more and more indispensable, if they would prepare themselves to cope successfully with the arguments and cavils of intelligent deists, and the learned of other sects. Sectarian works, of any description, in the bad sense of that term, would not be acceptable; but we are assured that such books as Dr. Worcester's "*Bible News*," and his work on the "*Atoning Sacrifice*," Mr. Noyes's translations of Job and the Psalms, Mr. Gannett's "*Scriptural Interpreter*," and Mr. Ware's "*Formation of the Christian Character*," would be kindly received, and read with avidity.

More than all, they need, and we are glad to learn that they are beginning to be alive to the deficiency, an institution to which their churches may look for a succession of learned, as well as gifted and faithful ministers. The other denominations are wisely straining every nerve and sinew in this direction; and most of them already, not excepting the Catholics, Methodists, or Cumberland Presbyterians, have

their respective colleges or schools in the Western country. It is matter of just surprise and regret, that a body of Christians, whose views on most subjects are so rational and liberal, should be behind the rest in the means of theological education, especially as this alone is wanted to give their preachers a decided advantage, among the intelligent and reflecting, over most of their competitors. We doubt whether the friends of religion in this quarter could do a better service to the great cause of liberal Christianity, than by aiding, if desired, either by the gift of books, or by pecuniary contributions, in the establishment of a theological seminary in the neighbourhood of Lexington or Cincinnati, to be under the entire control of the Christians and Reformers, with the Bible alone for their creed. Though we differ widely from both these denominations on several important points, we cheerfully accord our testimony to their piety, their zeal for Christianity, their love of freedom, and the tendency of their efforts and successes, to countervail the power of irreligion and bigotry in the West.

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ART. VI.—*Correspondence between the First Church and the Tabernacle Church in Salem; in which the Duties of Churches are discussed, and the Rights of Conscience vindicated.* Salem. Foote & Brown. 1832. 8vo. pp. 176.

EXCEPT in the relations of social and domestic life, every man is his own master, answerable only to God. If he does injury to those about him, they have a right to set bounds to his freedom; if he thinks injuriously of others, they have no right to restrain him, because his bad feeling injures himself, not them; and God only knows the heart. His feelings are his own; his opinions are his own. If they lead him to actions injurious to his neighbours, they have a right to protect themselves; but his deeds are all they have a right to control. All the right there is to call man to account for his sentiments, is reserved to the Searcher of hearts. It is part of that glory which he will never give to another, be that other who he may, except as a representative of his own person and power.

It is clear, then, that no man can lawfully assume any authority to dictate or judge the sentiments of another. It is part of the sovereignty of God. When man lays claim to any such authority, he interferes with matters wholly beyond his reach. He can no more change the least shade of another man's opinions by fear, control, or power, than he can change the color of the hair of his head. He has no more influence, except by persuasion, over the feelings of another, than he has over the elements of nature. And, whenever he attempts such usurpation, he will find that he has undertaken too much; for what can he do to others? He can trouble and torment them; he can expose them to injury and scorn; he can afflict them in their circumstances. while he can do absolutely nothing with respect to their minds, and is all the while, by his rash and foolish presumption, bringing a weight of guilt upon his own head.

It is clear, also, that no man can give another any authority over his opinions. God has made it the man's own affair: to him we must answer, and we cannot give up the privilege of freedom if we will. Some may think that none would consent to give it up. In this they are mistaken. There are many who would rejoice to give up the privilege of thinking for themselves, — many who, if they could throw off responsibility from themselves, and make others bear it, would agree never to form an independent opinion again. Indeed, there are many who do so now; but so far are they from relieving themselves from responsibility, that they must answer not only for going astray, but for giving others power to lead them astray.

This being the case, then, that no authority over another's opinions or feelings can be assumed by man, nor given by one to another, evidently the right of every man to his own opinions is a great and original right, one which it is shameful to undervalue or surrender. Whoever interferes in the least with human freedom in this respect, is a usurper; whoever takes away this right, is a robber; whoever sets inducements or terrors before men, to prevent the exercise of this right, is disloyal to the King of kings. If ever this right is invaded, we are bound to defend it. No party attachment, no personal affection, should prevent our defending it; and if we lament, as those who have the welfare of their race at heart must, that the peace and order of society

should be broken, so that controversy and disunion fill the places of kindness and love, the blame rests with those who attempt to abridge the right, — not on those who stand fast in the liberty, and stand up for the liberty, wherewith Christ hath made them free.

We propose to say a few words on the subject of charity, because many seem to suppose that it requires Christians to submit to every thing for the sake of peace, and, of course, that able and mild arguments, like the one before us, however gentle and forbearing in their spirit, are no better than violations of the law of love. The remarks which we have made contain certain truths which must be borne in mind whenever the subject of charity is mentioned. In all discussions on the subject, we must remember that the freedom of the mind is a birthright, which we can neither sell nor give away. There are many, whose ideas respecting it are wrong and unworthy, — who think we must look on without saying a word when the rights of the soul are invaded and endangered. We would ask what they would say of that charity to the poor, which gives them what it has no right to give, — for example, what belongs to another? for precisely such is the charity of the man who would give up the great principle of freedom. It is not ours to give; and when we undertake to surrender it, or are not ready and resolute to defend it, we give to Cæsar not what belongs to ourselves, but what belongs to God.

Men often allow the praise of charity to those who do acts of kindness, or profess kindness to others, while, at the same time, they deny them freedom of thought, by imposing penalties upon their convictions. They may call this kindness, generosity, or whatever they will, except charity; for charity is nothing more nor less than allowing others the same privilege which they claim for themselves. Now those who discard others from their communion, for not believing as they do, do not by any means allow others what they claim for themselves. They claim a perfect right to form their own opinions. They allow no one to say to them, "Why do ye so?" They suffer no one to say to them, "Believe as we do, or the doors shall be shut against you;" but they turn round upon others, and say the same thing to them. They may be kind in other matters; but if we call them charitable, we give them a name to which they are

not entitled ; for we see, that they allow us only what we do not want, and deny what we demand,— the right of sitting down at the table of the Lord, wherever that table is spread. We do not ask for their communion ; they may withhold it or not, as they will ; we shall not complain, as we are conscious of no great privation. They may refuse us a place at their own tables if they please ; we can easily submit to the exclusion. But when they undertake to limit the general invitation which our Saviour has given to all Christians to come to his table, they refuse to do to others what they would have others do to them, and assume a power which never was entrusted to human hands. It may be said that they act according to their conscience. We have no doubt of it ; but in our opinion it is not enough for a man to act according to his conscience, without consulting the word of God. St. Paul acted as conscientiously as ever he did in his life, when he shut up the saints in prison ; but this would hardly excuse him when the commands of God, even in the Hebrew Scriptures, might have taught him better. And would any one allow that he was charitable, because he treated them kindly after he had deprived them of their liberty, and put them under lock and bar ? No ; great injuries are not cancelled and atoned by small and easy acts of kindness. He did wrong ; and, when he was afterwards enlightened by Christianity, the thought of what he had done made him call himself the chief of sinners. Conscience is too often the Christian name of passion ; and it is a poor excuse, indeed, for him who denies others their rights, to say he acted conscientiously, when he had before him directions so plain as “ Forbid him not because he followeth not with us,” — “ To his own master let him stand or fall.”

Yet there are some who feel as if it were uncharitable to raise a voice in such cases, to plead for the freedom of the mind. “ They treat you kindly,” it is said ; “ what can you ask for more ? ” Go to some oppressed people, whose civil rights are taken away ; say to them, “ You are well treated ; your persons are not injured ; your property is respected ; what can you ask for more ? ” They will answer, as with the voice of many waters, “ We want that freedom, without which, man can enjoy no other blessing. The high and manly soul is sick without it. God and nature have

given it, and no human power has a right to take it away." And they will have it; small as the privation seems to many, it will raise a spirit which will break every oppressor's arm, and set the prisoner free. So every Christian is bound to strive for the liberty of the sons of God. So long as a single inducement is held out to any, to stifle and suppress their convictions, — so long as a single penalty, however light, is incurred by those who think and speak for themselves, it is charity to do all in our power to remove the snare. We would not call on others to do this for the sake of a favorite opinion; we would not sound the trumpet to fight the battles of party; but we do say, that, when the freedom of the mind is endangered, every soldier of the cross is bound to take up his spiritual arms; and, till the warfare is accomplished, he has no right to lay them down.

Another mistake on the subject of charity, is to judge from the form rather than the substance, — from what is said rather than what is done; to take for granted that the thing said must be charitable, because the manner in which it is said is gentle and kind. It is true that we do not often find this disparity in the exclusives of the day; it must be allowed that they commonly suit the word to the action. But, wherever it is found, it ought not to blind us to the true question between us and our opposers. Suppose that some Unitarian were to stand forward, and say that no man should enter his church, who did not declare his belief that Christ was inferior to the Father; and he has as much right to do this as any other to do the like, — that is, none at all. Suppose that he should treat others with the utmost kindness, while he shut the door in their faces, lamenting that he could not conscientiously treat them as he himself would choose to be treated. Would any Unitarian be deceived by this parade of kindness, so far as not to perceive the enormous absurdity of the pretension? Would any one say it was uncharitable to complain? On the contrary, such a man would be compelled by his own party to remove the bar. Not a single voice would support him in his usurpation. And if any one is disposed to doubt this, we would ask him to show a solitary case in which an Unitarian has shown the least disposition to exclude others from the table of the Lord. It is charity to the souls of men, to keep the gates as wide open as the great Head of the church has left



them ; and if any one stands in the portal, to keep out those who have a right to enter, it is his own fault if he is trampled down.

We are well aware that certain writers have endeavoured to show, that Unitarians are as exclusive as others ; and they have for this purpose diverted the attention of their readers from the true question, which is, Have Unitarians ever excluded any from the table of the Lord ? That is the place and sign of communion ; and, if any one is kept away from the table of an Unitarian church for his opinions, we allow that he is an injured man. But, as Unitarians are not liable to this charge, they say, "Your preachers refuse to exchange with Universalist preachers, while, at the same time, you complain of the Orthodox for not exchanging with you." This is misstated, and, we believe, misunderstood. When have Unitarians complained of Orthodox preachers for declining to exchange ? Solely in those cases where there was reason to believe that a majority of the Orthodox society desired such intercourse. Such cases were not uncommon a few years ago, though now party lines are more deeply drawn ; the times are unhappily altered. But in cases where — we do not say Unitarians, but the liberal, were few in number, and the consequence of such exchanges would have been ill feeling and disunion, we do not believe that any Unitarian preacher would have sought such exchanges ; and we do know of many who would have refused them. They never claimed it as a right ; they offered the exchange as a matter of courtesy, and regretted that others declined it. They never dreamed of putting this upon the same ground with the communion of the Supper ; for the table is the table of the Lord. He has invited others, and prescribed his own conditions. The place of worship is the property of those who built it ; they have a right to say what person or persons shall address them. We know of no Universalist who wishes to address an audience where a majority would be unwilling to hear him, or who would consent to enter a house of worship against the will of a majority of its owners. If any preacher is not admitted to preach to a Christian audience, it may be called exclusion. But no one complains of exclusion from private property and private hospitality. It is only of exclusion from *the Lord's* table, that the liberal complain ; and, as we have

said, no one can complain that he is excluded from Unitarian communion for his opinions only.

The complaint on the part of Unitarians, that the Orthodox have refused ministerial intercourse, has proceeded from members of societies who felt aggrieved by such refusal; for in more cases than one, a majority of a society, who bore almost all the burden of supporting religious institutions, have desired to hear Unitarian preachers occasionally, knowing that it would tend to peace, and not to disunion. When this has been denied, and the claims of the many sacrificed to the demands of the exclusive few, — when influence has been exerted, in every possible way, to form and increase an exclusive party, — when those who supported the preacher heard him constantly threatening them with destruction for their own opinions, and denouncing those opinions as crimes, — when this was coupled with the great act of stamping them infidels, by exclusion from the Lord's table, they have certainly complained and resisted, and we trust they will do so again. They complain because they are the sufferers. Unitarian preachers do not complain, because they do not suffer by the denial of this intercourse, though they lament it as part of a mistaken and oppressive system. It would be well, however, for the writers to whom we have alluded, to remember, that if Unitarians pursued this system habitually, it would not make it any better, neither would it relieve them from the reproach of upholding; it would only show that Unitarians have not sufficient virtue to practise what their consciences approve.

But to return to the subject; there are always some who think that kindness in words and manner is charity, — no matter what rights are taken away. If any one says to them sternly, "Believe as I do, or you shall never enter the church of Christ," they think him uncharitable; but if another says the same thing to them in a gentle way, lamenting that he is not at liberty to extend to them the hand of fellowship, lamenting in the most affectionate manner that they are not so holy as he, — there are some who praise his charity, forgetting that he denies them their rights just as much as the other, and that words and manner cannot change the substantial character of the deed. In the same way, when any one comes forward to defend the cause of freedom, encountering insult and reproach in that sa-

cred cause, there are always some who feel as if it were a breach of charity to speak the exact truth, because they know that facts strongly stated, and arguments forcible and convincing, may mortify and give pain to their opposers. This was the case lately, when Professor Stuart threw out a challenge to Unitarians. It was accepted by one who had no pleasure in collecting and stating the facts which the Professor called for, but who, though he entered upon the duty reluctantly, discharged it with ability and success. The result of his labors brought to light so much that was discreditable to religious men, — so much that gave pain to all who cared for the interest and honor of the Christian name, that some felt inclined to wish that he had left the challenge unanswered, and expressed themselves in such a manner, that the Orthodox really thought that he was disavowed by his own party. These persons wished that the facts might be stated, but in such a way as to give no offence, — not considering that the thing was impossible; because, since it was the truth of the charges which, supposing it to be established, was offensive, it was impossible to state them correctly without giving pain. It is true, there were but few who hesitated to sustain the writer alluded to; but the advocates of such a cause should have a unanimous support. The trust is sufficiently undesirable, and certainly should not be thankless also. The writer alluded to opened breaches in the walls of exclusion, which the garrison will probably never be able to repair.

We should always remember, that there is a charity due to the human race, as well as to one or two. By giving up points which we have no right to surrender, we sacrifice the cause of truth to the feelings of a few. Undoubtedly it is always painful to a fair mind to give pain to others; but if there are those who cannot bear to hear you speak your own mind, while they speak theirs as freely as they will, — if there are any who declare that your opinions are false and dangerous, and cannot bear to have you calmly prove that they are not so, it is charity itself, the duty which they violate, that hurts their feelings. He who forces another to strike him in self-defence, can expect but little sympathy when he complains of the hardness of the blow.

We have explained this mistaken charity somewhat at large, because it is the error of conscientious persons, who

wish to be charitable, but know not what the duty requires. Charity requires concession, — they know not how much ; charity forbids some concessions, — they know not where to stop. And thus we not unfrequently see Unitarians, in our villages, excluded from the table of the Lord, laid under the ban of public opinion, never permitted to hear their own views of religion preached, but, on the contrary, condemned every Sabbath to hear doctrines both untrue and unprofitable, and all the while attending public worship, bearing their part of the expense, and making no attempt to excite resistance. Under certain circumstances, this may be well ; but if they carry their charity so far as to excuse the spirit of exclusion, and even condemn those who resist it, they carry it beyond its proper bounds, and it becomes weakness, which does injustice to its friends, for the sake of those who have no claim to such excessive indulgence.

When we ask whence come the violations of charity that break up the peace of the Christian world, there is but one reply : it is from that exclusiveness which censures, punishes, and threatens others for thinking for themselves ; because this exclusiveness is itself a breach of Christian charity. Charity and common justice require men to do to others as they would have others do to them. This is the general rule for the treatment of others. Now no man would be willing that others should condemn and threaten him for his opinions, — that they should exclude him from their churches while living, and threaten him with exclusion from heaven when dead ; no man would be willing to have his offered hand of fellowship insolently rejected. It is evidently, therefore, a breach of charity to treat others in this manner, unless by express authority and command from the great Source of power. It is true there is one case in which this rule for the treatment of others seems not to apply ; — when the judge, pronounces sentence upon the offender, he cannot do to him what he would wish to receive in similar circumstances. The reason, however, is, that he is acting as a judge, and not as a man. As a judge, he is not a free agent ; he represents the society about him, and is bound by the terms of the law. But, though in an official capacity he may not be influenced by compassion, as a man, he must be governed by the same principles with other men, and indulge his feelings as far as his public obligations will allow.

If, then, the exclusive were really authorized to sit in judgment on others, the case would be altered. But where do they get their commission and instructions? Society has no power to invest them with authority, and would not do it if it could. Do they derive it from Jesus Christ? He says, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." Do they derive it from the Apostles? "If any man think that he is Christ's, let him think this again, that as he is Christ's, so also are we." Such is the language of the Apostles. No man can show a line or letter of inspiration, which authorizes him to interfere in the least with the opinions of another; so that the great obligation remains unaffected, in this as in all things else, to do to others as they would have others do to them. Whoever will not do this, has not the charity of the gospel.

Again; no one ever attempted to enforce a system of exclusion without making himself uncharitable, if he was not so when he began; for he might have begun reluctantly, from a mistaken sense of duty. There are persons of kind feeling, no doubt, who exclude others as good as themselves from their churches. We do not impeach their kind feeling; but they would not be willing to have others exclude them from a privilege which they wished to enjoy, and yet this is what they do to others. They will not pretend that they put others on the same ground with themselves; they will repeat that they are not allowed to do it. Here, then, their charity is bounded; up to this limit they will do to others as they would have others do to them; but here their charity is forcibly driven back, and they can no longer obey the great Christian law. Now it is not in the nature of things, that they can do a wrong thing right; the thing, they confess, would be uncharitable, were it not a duty; that is, it is uncharitable, though it is a duty. Truly, such is our nature, that, if a man ever thinks it his duty to be uncharitable, he will perform this duty, if no other, with all his heart. Nothing can be more natural. They assume that every man can believe whatever he wills; they would not think it a subject of censure, if they were not convinced that perverseness alone prevents others from believing with them. It is idle to say that there is any thing criminal in error, unless it is a voluntary thing; and if they believe that others are standing out against the truth, knowing it to be

truth, they cannot feel toward them the charity of the gospel. We must say, that in all the examples of exclusion which we have seen, and they are not a few, we have never seen one who appeared to do much violence to his inclinations in pursuing this course towards others. We have heard them profess to act solely from a sense of duty ; but they certainly went about the performance of this duty with an alacrity, which they did not manifest in others, which were attended to with no such self-constraint. It did appear to us, that, if it gave them as much pain as they imagined, they discharged the obligation with a cheerfulness and self-devotion scarcely inferior to that of martyrs.

Again ; exclusiveness is the cause of uncharitableness, because the denial of any just right naturally excites resentment ; and as no right is more evident than that of freedom, it is natural to feel strongly when oppression would take it away. Every man who loves his race wishes to see the time come when thought shall be perfectly free, and will do all in his power to remove every penalty, every censure, and every bar. What wonder is it if men grow ardent in a good cause ? They say to themselves, "What right have others to exclude me for my opinions, any more than I have to exclude them for theirs ? what reason to think themselves right in their sentiments, more than I to think myself right in mine ? They would consider it wild presumption in me to exclude them because their belief does not suit my taste and fancy : how is it any less presumption in them to do the same to me ?" The more a man reflects upon it, the more unreasonable and revolting does this pretension seem. Oppression makes wise men mad ; charity to the uncharitable is the hardest of duties ; and if a man is thus driven to the wall, though others may wonder that he cares so much for a privilege which they do not value, we shall not be surprised to hear him speaking with severity and strength. No one can presume to judge in a case like this, who does not feel the value of freedom. How many there are, who, when a nation rises to throw off the oppressor's chain, will say that they felt no hardship in their bondage, and wonder that they are willing to suffer so much for the sake of being free. So, when any one pleads the cause of religious freedom, there are those who wonder that he should grow warm in such a cause. They say he is under no actual privation ; why

should he contend for a name? We would try to explain the beauty of the rainbow to the blind, or to make the deaf understand what there is inspiring in the harp or the trumpet, sooner than we would attempt to paint the blessedness of religious freedom to one who holds it in light esteem.

We think that charity requires men to maintain this cause, and it is but a mistaken charity which would, for the sake of peace, give up the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. Charity requires no man to give up his rights, though it calls on many to lay aside their pretensions. We are not speaking the language of party. Illiberality exists among us as well as others. If we had the power to enforce a system of exclusion, it is possible that we might be tempted to do it; though our being guilty of it would not make it the less a sin. We would not answer for any party, human nature being the same in all. Therefore do we say, Deprive all parties of this unlawful power; give no opportunity to any party to abridge the freedom of any other. There is not one in a hundred of the most usurping faction that would, as a man, deprive another of his rights. It is power that tempts them. It is power that might tempt us also. In order to make freedom secure, public opinion must be brought to such a state, that no one shall have the power again to lord it over the heritage of God.

The effects of the exclusive system are such, that every man who feels an interest in human improvement is bound to resist it. It prevents the increase of religious truth and knowledge. For how many are there who are independent enough to examine freely, when their examination may result in a change of sentiment that shall expose them to anger and scorn? There are too many who will acquiesce in the faith of those around them, rather than sacrifice their own peace and comfort for the sake of duty. It is a painful thing to be regarded as a heretic, a disturber of the peace of society; to hear one's self proclaimed an infidel by those who have the public confidence, and not to be able to join in the worship of God without being denounced as an infidel. The joy of an upright conscience is great; but it cannot make man insensible to the desertion of friends, and the cold looks and contemptuous reserve of those with whom he must travel to the tomb. And thus the Scriptures are sealed; for we should be glad to know the difference be-

tween sealing them up, and making it dangerous to open and read them. Men ought to be encouraged to study the Scriptures without fear, and to make known their conclusions without reserve; but where danger attends a departure from the common opinion there is no freedom; — and it ought not so to be.

Charity also requires men to oppose a system which breaks up the charities of social and domestic life. Life will have enough sadness in it at best, and wants encouragement and happiness from the gospel. But by this abuse of Christianity, the peace of communities, churches, and even families, is broken up. You see those, whom God and nature had united, standing apart in sullen disunion from each other. When you inquire the reason, you find that one, confident in his own opinion, had misnamed, slandered, and cast out the other for the offence of differing from him in opinion; while the other, feeling a contempt, but too natural, for such narrow-minded pretension, refused to be driven from the house and table of his Father by those whose authority was no greater than his own. Truly, if strangers to Christianity formed their judgment concerning it from this conduct of Christians, they might, had they no other means of ascertaining its character, be forgiven for rejecting it almost with scorn. But Christianity is not responsible for these things; it has strictly forbidden them; it has enjoined on its disciples, in whatever respects they may chance to differ, to be of one mind and one soul. There is but one heaven in which they can meet; there is but one table where they can sit down with the patriarchs in the kingdom of God. If they have one faith, one baptism, one gospel, one Saviour, and one God, and yet there are any who cannot keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, we must say, that such persons have yet to learn what their religion teaches, and what conduct and character are acceptable to God.

The work which has led us into these remarks proceeded from the First Church in Salem, and was suggested by a correspondence, in which that church was engaged with the Tabernacle Church in the same place. A lady, belonging to the latter, had connected herself with the First Society, and wished to be admitted to Christian privileges; but as she had not the usual recommendation, a committee was ap-



pointed to ask the Tabernacle Church the reasons of their *withholding* it. In reply, the pastor of the Tabernacle Church informed them, that her case was yet under consideration by a committee of that church who had not reported, and that her statement, that she had been *denied* the recommendation, was *at present* incorrect. She had made no such statement; but if she had, we confess ourselves unable to see the momentous difference between denying and withholding, in the case of a testimonial which was commonly given under such circumstances, and which the applicant had a manifest right to demand. After a time, however, he communicated the unanimous vote of the Tabernacle Church not to grant her request for the reasons following: "First, because this church cannot consistently recognise any church as a sister church which, in our judgment, rejects those doctrines that we feel bound to receive as the fundamental doctrines of Christianity; and, secondly, because this church cannot consent to hold fellowship with any church which manifests an entire disregard to the discipline of this church, and which, by readily admitting to its communion those who have been excommunicated by us, virtually declares the disciplinary acts of this church to be null and void." Of this anticlimax of resolutions, the first might have been supposed sufficient. But, seeing such an accusation was brought in the second, the committee of the First Church applied again to know how this disregard had been manifested. They received a reply, sufficiently ungraceful in our opinion, in which they were turned over to the church clerk as "the proper organ of any further communications." They were answered by that officer with a civility, which could have left no doubt on their minds that he was the more proper organ of the two.

It appeared that, on a former occasion, a member of the Tabernacle Church had worshipped for about two years with the First Society, when he applied for a recommendation to the First Church. For various reasons the Tabernacle Church withdrew their fellowship from him, and voted that his connexion with them was thenceforth dissolved. The First Church did not consider this an excommunication, and, finding no sufficient reasons against it, received him into their church as a new member. The committee make it evident that this was not a formal excommunication, ac-

cording to the practice of the churches ; but we cannot say that we should not so have regarded it. We should have thought it an entire excommunication. But the committee make it manifest that the First Church did not view the matter in that light. They considered it a way of releasing him from his connexion with his former associates, which left him free to join another without the inquiries and forms which would have been necessary had he been formally excommunicated. Of course, they had not intentionally violated the courtesy of the churches, nor shown that disregard to the discipline of their neighbouring church with which they were charged.

But suppose they had disregarded the discipline of the Tabernacle Church,—what then? The lady in question did not ask for a recommendation of the First Church ; she asked for a recommendation of herself, a testimonial of her good standing, which, if there was no charge against her conduct, she certainly had a right to demand. She was about leaving the church with which she had been connected. They had no right to ask what other she intended to join ; the only question with them was, whether her conduct had been such, that they could conscientiously say that she was a member in good standing of the church of Christ. If not, then, and then only, they were justified in refusing it. But to make themselves responsible for her religious character after she had left them, to attempt to detain her, or to injure her reputation by withholding the common certificate, was a proceeding which, if they could justify to their own conscience, they cannot answer to God. The truth on this subject is, that there is but one church of our Lord. Whoever makes a Christian profession becomes a member of it by his own act, and may afterwards come to his table wherever he finds it spread. When a member of one company of Christians proposes to join another, it is a friendly act to give him a letter of recommendation. But if this act of courtesy is to be magnified into a momentous transaction, by which the Christian character is to be given or taken away, it is perhaps better to relinquish the practice. Certainly it is not worth while to persevere in applying for such testimonials to churches that refuse them. It is as an act of respect to Orthodox churches that Unitarians have made such applications, not because they supposed the testi-

monials themselves very important. But, since Orthodox churches thus make it a general practice to refuse them, we must of necessity cease to apply, and yet shall be liberally accused, in consequence, of disregarding the order and discipline of the churches. There is something very singular in the present aspect of the Christian world. A part of the Christian family undertake to cast out their brethren from the house and table of their Father. When the excluded ones assert their right to enter, and protest against the act that excludes them, they are held up to public indignation as disturbers of the peace and order of the Christian world.

The great difficulty is, that the Orthodox consider churches as corporate bodies, enjoying certain rights, immunities, and privileges, which are not granted to others, and having power to choose their own successors, which implies the power of exclusion, which they exercise with no sparing hand. It seems to us that no view can be more unreasonable; and it finds not one word of support from Scripture, corrupted and perverted as it often is to suit the purposes of delusion. Robert Hall, as quoted in the book before us, states the duty of churches with his usual clearness and precision. "The duty of churches originates in that of the individuals of which they consist; so that when we have ascertained the sentiments and principles that ought to govern the Christian in his private capacity, we possess the standard to which the practice of churches should be uniformly adjusted." Nothing can be more true; and perhaps, when stated in the form of a general principle, no one would be bold enough to contradict it. But it is well known, that nations profess to recognise the same principles in their intercourse with each other. The misfortune is, that power makes laws for itself, and affixes the name of justice to any deeds of violence and injury which it chooses to perform. Churches have been likewise tempted by power to establish systems and perform deeds in their collective capacity, which the individuals of their number, in whom the moral sense is not completely drowned in party spirit, would have blushed and trembled to avow. Does any one believe that an individual does right, or is bound, to separate himself from a friend who differs from him in opinion? Does any one allow, that an individual has power to stand in the gate, and drive away whom he will from the table of the Lord?

Does any feel as if an individual had authority to judge the world, assigning himself and his friends to heaven, and those who do not think as he does, to destruction? If such pretensions are regarded as proofs of weakness and folly in individuals, we do not know why they should be more respectable in churches, or any more likely to be affirmed on high.

The work before us, beside discussing the rights and duties of churches, contains a distinct and powerful statement of the principles of religious freedom. As it is directly addressed to an Orthodox church, the writer has established his positions by passages from Orthodox divines. It was a happy thought thus to appeal to them, in the words of those whom they have been used to reverence, and to make them feel, that to profess respect for the memory of great men is one thing, and to follow their example is another. It is delightful to see, that men, like those quoted in the work before us, who were in the habit of thinking clearly on religious subjects, saw these questions in the same light that we do; regarding it as the right and duty of every Christian to make up his own mind, and protesting against all measures which tended to control, abridge, or take away that power. We firmly believe, that there is not a society of Christians in the world, who would pursue intolerant systems, if left to themselves. It is only by constant exertion that they can be kept in a state of vassalage, and made the slaves of party. It is by the authority of leading men that they are thus subdued. If they can once be made to see, that the truly great men of their own sect, and every other, have detested this narrow and exclusive spirit, it will aid them to throw off a bondage, from which they will rejoice to be free.

We give the following as a single specimen of the calm and powerful reasoning in the correspondence.

"You glory, equally with us, in the name and character of Protestants. And what are the obligations implied by this? Are you not bound to allow us the same right and privilege, which you claim, of searching the Scriptures, and ascertaining for ourselves the truth of Christian doctrines, be they fundamental or not? Are you not bound to treat us as being accountable, not to you, but, in common with you, to our final judge, for the manner in which we discharge this duty? How then can you presume to judge and condemn us, for being led

by our inquiries to differ in opinion from you, upon this momentous subject? It may not be possible for us, you must be aware, to avoid this, without unfaithfulness to conscience and to God. And will you pretend that a conscientious adherence to his unerring word, as the standard of faith and duty, can justly expose us to your condemnation? Will you say, as others have said, that your conscience requires you to denounce those whose religious opinions you consider as essentially wrong, and consequently proceeding from a perverse interpretation of Scripture?

"But who made you judges of your brethren in the interpretation of Scripture? Is not this an assumption of infallibility? 'All that infallibility,' says Robert Hall, 'which the church of Rome pretends to, is the right of placing her interpretation of Scripture on a level with the word of God; she professes to promulgate no new revelation, but solely to render her sense of it binding.' While you are content to enjoy your interpretation of Scripture in the regulation of your own faith and practice, and accord the same to others, you act a truly Protestant part; but when, not satisfied with this, you insist upon forcing your interpretations upon the conscience of your brethren, and treat them as though they avowedly contradicted Christ and his Apostles, that moment you assume infallibility, and become aggressors. We have shown you, from an inspired Apostle, what are the true rights of conscience in such cases. According to the rule laid down by him, you may claim every indulgence for your own conscientious opinions, though they should be erroneous; but not the least favor, when you deny the same indulgence to your brethren, and proceed to denounce them for opinions or interpretations of Scripture, which may be equally conscientious with your own. To do this is not a right of the conscience, but a wrong of the will. In the language of the author just quoted, 'it is not a defensive, but an offensive measure; it is not an assertion of Christian liberty by resisting encroachment, but is itself a violent encroachment on the freedom of others.' Is it not, indeed, that rash, uncharitable, sinful judging of others, the very offence so pointedly condemned by our Saviour and his Apostles? And must not the commission of this great offence, like that of every other sin, be at the peril of those who are guilty of it?" — pp. 81, 82.

It is auspicious to the cause of Christian freedom to find men, like the author of this work, coming forward as its advocates, not leaving such discussions to the clergy alone, but giving a practical proof to the world, that they think the

interests of liberality worth defending. The difficulty is not, that our thorough-bred scholars, learned jurists, and accomplished writers are opposed to the cause; on the contrary, they are generally interested in it, and desirous to behold its success; but from aversion to controversy, or a fancied unfitness for such pursuits, they are apt to give a silent vote in favor of liberality, when they might do much more to advance it. We feel grateful to this person and others of their number, for the fine example of interest and exertion which they have given; for if any thing can reconcile us to these invasions of the right of private judgment, it is the assurance which we have here, that the right will be ably and successfully defended.

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It gives us great pleasure to insert the following communication from Dr. Carpenter, of Bristol, England, respecting our review of "A Harmony of the Gospels," on his plan, published in the Number for July, 1831. No one is better fitted than himself, to elucidate this difficult and important subject; and the character of these remarks leads us to expect high satisfaction from the Harmony which he has long been preparing, and is about to publish.

THE EDITORS.

*Bristol, 26th April, 1832.*

To the Editors of the Christian Examiner.

GENTLEMEN,

IF it be not inconsistent with the plan of your truly valuable and interesting publication, I would gladly offer a few remarks to your readers, in reference to the review of the "Harmony," lately published at Boston, inserted in your Number for July, 1831.

It gave me great satisfaction to see the system of arrangement which, I doubt not, will, in the main, be one day prevalent, so promoted, as it must be, by the beautifully executed volume to which I have referred; and I am happy in the aid and coöperation of the able and respected friend who has honored me by the construction of the "Harmony." It was not known to him, and indeed could not have been, that I had myself had the object in view for many years; and that, after having repeatedly read the Gospels with a

specific view to the arrangement of them in the order of time, I had constructed a Harmony, according with the principles of arrangement stated in my "New Testament Geography." This I have several times reviewed with great care, and with (I think) no other desire than to render it as accordant as possible with reality; and a recent examination of it, and of the phenomena of the Gospels individually (to which I have been led by the consideration of Mr. Greswell's "Harmony" and "Dissertations"), has given me the opportunity of more critically weighing objections that might be urged against it, and of making it, in several points, more satisfactory to my own mind. It is my hope that, during the ensuing year, I may carry into execution the printing of my "Harmony"; and I shall be particularly obliged to the learned editor of the Boston "Harmony," and to its Reviewer, as well as to any other of your critical friends, for additional observations.

The Reviewer (p. 381) considers it as a great difficulty on my arrangement, that so short a time is allowed between our Lord's setting out from Capernaum, after the miracle of the Five Thousand and the miracle of the Four Thousand; and observes, that I do not appear to have made any allowance for the "three days," mentioned by St. Matthew. (See ch. xv. 29-32.) Perhaps too little time has been allowed; but to rectify this error (if it be one), the date assigned to the feeding of the Five Thousand, which, of course, is in some degree arbitrary, may be placed three days further back. All that is required is, that it shall accord sufficiently with the statement of St. John (ch. vi. 4), "The passover was nigh."

It will, I think, greatly obviate the difficulty felt by the Reviewer, in respect to the rapidity of our Lord's movements at that period, to consider that Herod was then at his capital in the south of Galilee, and that our Lord obviously desired to avoid his insidious designs. For this purpose he spent his time principally in Upper Galilee, or in the dominions of Philip; and, except when he was in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi, or on the northeastern side of the lake, he does not appear to have ever remained at rest. We learn from John vii. 1, which should have been connected with the sixth chapter, that, after the miracle of the Five Thousand, our Lord would not go into Judea, because the Jews were seeking to kill him.

The Reviewer seems to regard the supposition that three great national festivals occurred between that miracle and the crucifixion passover, as attended with less difficulty than that arising from the short interval I suppose to have occurred between the miracle and our Lord's finally leaving Galilee. It appears to me probable, that, when he has considered the matter more in detail, he may agree with me, that the former supposition is not reconcilable with the phenomena of the Gospels, — taken, as of course it will be by all, in connexion with the position that one of those festivals is the Feast of Tabernacles, the records of which are found in the portion of St. John's Gospel, beginning with Chapter vii. 2, and ending with Chapter x, 21. Undoubtedly the transactions, which I refer to that short interval, may be made to spread over a longer period; but there is nothing in the history itself which requires, at most, a week in addition to the time I have assigned to it; and the following considerations support my hypothesis, if they do not, taken together, absolutely refute every other.

(1.) The train of the history, in the first three Gospels, shows, that the miracle of the Five Thousand occurred not long before the Transfiguration; and this certainly took place when our Lord's departure was at hand. (See Luke ix. 31.)

(2.) Our Lord's discourse after the miracle, recorded by St. John alone, has, in some parts (see Chapter vi. 51 – 56), that species of reference to his death, which implies its near approach.

(3.) At the close of the chapter the Evangelist says, that Judas Iscariot was about (*ἤμελλεν*) to betray him; which expression surely cannot be referred to an event more than a year distant.

(4.) Our Lord's reference, in John vii. 19 – 23, to his miracle at the pool of Bethesda, and the purpose of the rulers to take away his life, is not consistent with the supposition of so long an interval having elapsed as sixteen or eighteen months, which is required by the hypothesis of four Passovers in our Lord's ministry, and even by that of three.

(5.) The miracle of the Five Thousand, and the grand series of public miracles recorded in each of the first three Gospels as having preceded it, could not have occurred be-



fore the representations of our Lord's kinsmen, previous to the Tabernacles, recorded in John vii. 3, 4.

Those of your readers, who have paid much attention to the arrangement on which the Boston "Harmony" is founded, and to the phenomena of the Gospels in connexion with them, will probably have noticed in the "Monthly Repository" of last year, a series of observations, which may throw some light on the subjects in discussion. But without specific reference to those observations, I would take the opportunity of stating the following particulars, in which a renewed and close examination has modified my views as to the phenomena of the Gospels and the system of arrangement.

1. I should consider St. Luke's *Gnomology* (or, as it may in some sense be termed, the Records of the Seventy), as beginning with Chapter x. 1, and ending with Chapter xvii. 11. I think this limitation of importance; explaining the character of this portion of the Gospel much better than Bishop Marsh's more extended limits, and also the cause of its being inserted where it is.

2. To the three essential principles of the arrangement, — viz. that the ministry of Christ included only two Passovers, that the miracle of the Five Thousand was not long before the second Passover, and that St. Matthew's order should be made the general guide, — I would add, as a subsidiary principle, that no portion should be separated from its connexion in the particular Gospel where it is found, unless the separation be required by the ascertained, or at least very probable, order of time.

3. Those of the discourses and miracles recorded in St. Luke's *Gnomology*, which are not clearly referable to a specific time, I would insert, as a miscellaneous portion, where St. Luke himself has placed them, viz. immediately after our Lord's setting out from Galilee.

I am, Gentlemen,

with respectful regard,

yours truly,

LANT CARPENTER.

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ART. VIII. — 1. *The Well-spent Hour*. Third edition corrected and enlarged. Boston. Carter & Hendee. 1832. 18mo. pp. 160.

2. *Sequel to "The Well-spent Hour"; or the Birth-Day*. Boston. Carter & Hendee. 1832. 18mo. pp. 154.

THOSE were very well-spent hours, which were employed in writing these pleasant and useful books for the benefit of our young people. We have seen no works of the kind which have pleased us more, and few which have pleased us so much. We have done what reviewers seldom do, whatever they may pretend, — we have honestly read them through, and not from a sense of duty, but simply because we could not help it. After we had begun, we found that we were obliged to go on till we came to the end. They reminded us constantly of Miss Edgeworth. The same lively and instructive conversation; the same strong interest independent of any great variety of incident; the same knowledge of nature, of human nature, and of children's nature; the same good sense and right feeling, which mark the works of that benefactress of youth, are stamped on these volumes. They reminded us, too, of Miss Edgeworth's great defect, or deficiency, not by resemblance, however, but by contrast. Religious principle is inculcated in them, easily, naturally, without the least sign of stiffness or awkwardness. A cheerful, practical, every-day piety, shines through them like light, touching, warming, and gilding every thing. Christian hope, faith, trust, and love are here, in their true and engaging forms. And we do insist that it is right and exceedingly beneficial to cultivate religious feeling, and sow the elements of religious knowledge in the hearts and minds of children, tenderly and judiciously, and connect religion with all they love and ought to love, with all they value and ought to value. We believe the instances not to be rare, in which individuals have been saved from spiritual ruin by a few sacred truths, which they had learnt in their early and innocent days.

The first of the little volumes now before us, "*The Well-spent Hour*," has been for some time before the public, and has met with a part, at least, of the favor it deserves. The "*Sequel*" is equally worthy of a kind reception, and we trust will secure it. The history of the Nelson family is

carried on in it, after an interval of four years, without any diminution of interest or ability.

For the satisfaction of those who may not have seen either of these volumes, we will present a specimen or two from their pages. As the first chapter explains the title of the work, we will commence with that. It is headed "*Piety at Home.*"

" 'Mother, I am tired of reading ; can't you tell me of something to do ? ' said Kitty Nelson, one day, as she stretched herself out, and gaped, as if she were weary. ' Yes, my dear, ' said her mother, ' you may hem this handkerchief, or you may pick up these shreds. ' ' Oh, ' said the little girl, ' but that would be tiresome, and I want something pleasing to do ; you know you told me I might do what I pleased in the vacation, if I did nothing wrong. ' ' True, my dear, but I told you I did not believe you would be happy, when idle, and advised you to employ yourself ; but left you at liberty to choose for yourself. '

" ' But, mother, can't you think of any thing pleasant for me to do ? ' ' Can you tell me any thing of the sermon that we heard yesterday ? ' said her mother. ' I remember the text, I think, ' said Kitty. ' What was it, my dear ? ' ' It was, " Let them show their piety at home. " What is piety, mother ? ' ' Piety, my dear, is love and obedience to God ; it is a desire to please him, and a continual and grateful remembrance of all his kindness to us, and a fear of offending such great goodness. Do you remember any thing that the preacher said about it ? ' ' He spoke about spending one hour well ; I did not understand all, but I did a great deal of what he said, and it made me think of what I could do in an hour. ' ' Well, Kitty, what could you do in an hour ? ' ' Do you mean, mother, how many of my lessons I could learn in an hour ? ' ' No ; but if you had no lessons to get, as now, for instance, and wanted to spend an hour well, what good could you do ? ' ' I am sure, mother, I don't know. If I were to sew an hour, I could not do much ; and besides, Roxy does all your sewing ; and there is some one to do all the other work in the house ; there is nothing for me to do. '

" ' But is there no other way of doing good that you can think of ? ' said her mother ; ' do I never do you good except when I make you clothes, or give you food ? ' ' Oh yes, mother ; you teach me, and you make me happy. ' — ' And cannot you make any one happy ? ' Here Kitty hesitated. ' Sometimes, mother, when I am good and industrious, you say I make you and father happy. ' — ' Is there no one else you can make happy, or

unhappy, my dear?' 'Yes, mother, I can make James and Lucy happy, and sometimes I make them unhappy; and I am afraid I troubled Lucy this morning.' 'And could you not make her happy again?' 'Oh yes, mother, I think I could.' 'Then, my dear, you have something to do. If we are really anxious to do good, we shall find opportunities enough.' 'Shall I go to Lucy now, mother? I left her crying up stairs.'

" 'Stop, one minute, my dear; I have something to propose to you; suppose you try this one hour, and see how much good you can do in it? It is now twelve o'clock; when the bell rings one, come and tell me whether you have found any thing to do, and whether you have been happy: should you like to try?' 'Yes, mother, I should,' said Kitty; 'but I am afraid I cannot do much in one hour.' 'Well, my dear,' said her mother, 'you cannot better begin the hour than by going to little Lucy, and trying to make her happy.'

"Kitty was a sensible, thoughtful girl; she sometimes did wrong, but she was soon sorry for it, and tried to do better; she walked slowly out of the room, thinking what good she could possibly do in an hour. By the time she had shut the door, she thought again of Lucy, to whom she had been so disobliging, and skipped up stairs to make up with her first, before she did any thing else." pp. 1. - 4.

The little girl "makes up" with her sister and does some work for her, helps her brother in his lesson, visits a poor old woman, reads to her, and then comes home, at the end of her "well-spent hour," with a heart full of happiness and gratitude.

"They reached home just as it struck one, with fine rosy cheeks, and light and happy hearts, and found their mother in the nursery. 'Well, my daughter,' said she, 'how has the hour been passed? have you done any good? have you been happy?' 'Oh, very happy,' said Kitty; 'Mrs. Welles says we have done her good.' 'And what else have you done, my dear?' Kitty then told her of every thing she had done during the hour. 'So,' said her mother, 'you have made Lucy and James and poor Mrs. Welles all happy, and been happy yourself, and made your mother happy too, my child.' 'And me,' said her aunt. 'And you have done all this,' continued her mother, 'by thinking of the happiness of others, rather than of your own; and you have done it in one hour; and now you know what a well-spent hour means. — But there is some one else whom you cannot see, but who has witnessed and who approves of what you have done; who do you think it is?'

'It is God, mother, for you have told me that he sees me always.'  
'Yes, my dear, and it is by doing your duty, as you have for this last hour, with a hearty desire to please him, that you can show piety at home.'

"Kitty understood what her mother said, and felt very happy, though she said nothing more; for when she thought that such a little girl as she was, had pleased Almighty God, her heart was too full to speak, and she did not know how to express what she felt. She sat down by the side of her mother, and finished the doll's gown, and she spent the remainder of the day as she had that one hour; for she found she was so much happier thinking of others, and trying to do good, that nothing that day could have tempted her to be selfish and disobliging; and often afterwards, when she was older, and was in danger of doing wrong, the recollection of the happiness of this one well-spent hour has encouraged her and given her strength to do right; and from that hour she began to show piety at home." pp. 7-9.

The writer renews her acquaintance with her readers, in the first chapter of the "Sequel" in the following manner.

"It is four years since I gave my young readers an account of some of the well-spent hours of Catherine Nelson. Whoever read that little book at that time, must now be four years older. To some the scene of existence has changed; but we believe they still live; they have left this world of time, and entered upon a life that has no end. They now know, better than any of us, the true value of a well-spent hour, the unspeakable blessing of a well-spent life.

"There will be few of those who read this little volume, who, during the last four years, have not parted on the way with some companion and friend whom they loved. They have thus had the means of forming a juster estimation of the true value of life, of learning the great truth, that the length of our lives is not the thing we should be anxious about, but simply the manner in which we live; that an innocent heart, a knowledge of the character of Jesus, a holy trust in God, can make the death-bed a peaceful and even a cheerful and happy place, not only to the youthful spirit that is entering the immediate presence of its heavenly Father, but to the sorrowing friends whom it leaves behind.

"It is a serious thought to us all, that we are four years older; and I feel as if the sort of acquaintance my readers have made with me authorizes me to say a few words upon the thoughts awakened by this recollection. Let us sit down, and talk, and think, and reason together. You are young, and I am compar-

actively old ; but we must all ask ourselves the same questions : Have we, during this time, acquired as much knowledge as we have had the means of acquiring ; as much knowledge of God, of his glorious works, of his holy will, as we could obtain ? as much knowledge of Jesus and of his divine instructions, as much knowledge of our own particular duties, as much knowledge of our own hearts and characters, of our own faults, of our own powers, of the means of doing good to others, of their wants and of their rights ? ” pp. 1, 2.

After a page or two in the same serious style, and an exhortation to those who may have wasted or misspent their hours and years, to begin a life of duty without delay, the chapter thus beautifully concludes.

“ There is in such a resolution, and in the life it would lead to, nothing of gloom ; on the contrary, the heartfelt satisfaction it will yield, will shed a new glory upon the whole visible world, give a new relish to every innocent pleasure.

‘ It is content of heart  
Givee nature power to please ;  
The mind that feels no smart  
Enlivens all it sees ;

‘ Can make a wintry sky  
Seem bright as smiling May,  
And evening’s closing eye  
As peep of early day.’

“ The thought expressed in these lines of Cowper, which I learned and loved when I was a child, and have so often repeated, reminds me of a very little boy, whose mother, being much occupied in the day, is in the habit of devoting an hour in the evening, just before his bed-time, to his particular amusement. Often when he asks for some attention which the want of time makes it necessary to refuse him, he says, with the assurance that it will then be granted, ‘ When evening come ’ ; and when he sees the darkness approaching, he claps his hands and says, ‘ Now evening come ’ ; and I cannot but think how often his mother’s heart must pray that the evening hour will be thus ever joyful to him, and that he may so spend his day of life, that when its sun has set, and its last shadows close in around him, and he sees only the unknown stars of another world, his spirit may rejoice and cry out with gladness, ‘ Now evening come ! ’

“ But I think I hear the young friends whom in imagination I am talking with, say in their hearts, ‘ But we want to hear about Catherine Nelson, her brother James, little Lucy, and

her cousin Julia. They are also four years older; what has happened to them? How will they answer these hard questions that we have been putting to ourselves? Have they all grown wiser and better? Has Julia cured her pettishness and selfishness? Is Catherine as good as she was? And Nancy Leonard, what of her and her sick mother? — Come, let us hear about them all.' As I must acknowledge I have tried your patience with something like a sermon, I will, without any further preface, tell you all that is to be told about Catherine Nelson and her friends; and let you judge for yourselves how lasting were the effects of her well-spent hours." pp. 5, 6.

These volumes have our hearty benediction. We cheerfully and sincerely recommend them to parents and all the friends of children, as books which they may select without fear of disappointment. They are so good, that we wish the three engravings which accompany them had been better. It is no compliment to the taste of children, and certainly of no advantage to it, to salute their eyes with such poor apologies for pictures as these.

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ART. IX. — *Annual Reports of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States.* Nos. 7—15. Washington, D. C.

THE Colonization Society has assumed a character, and attained a position, which fairly justify its claim to the consideration of the public. We shall preface the suggestion of some of what we deem the principal arguments in its favor, with a summary outline of its progress for the last few years, and of its present condition.

The Society, during its career of eighteen years, has sent out to Africa twenty-three expeditions of emigrants; the majority of which have gone within three or four years, and six of them during one season. Of the whole number of persons, six hundred and thirteen were slaves manumitted for the purpose of being colonized. Still another class of the colonial population consists of between three and four hundred Africans, recaptured under those laws which prohibit their im-

portation into this country ; and who, having thus fallen into the hands of the national or state governments, have, with their consent, and generally at their charge, been transported and colonized by the Society. The census of the eight or ten settlements which the colony comprises, including all those classes, is not far from three thousand. The earliest of them, it should be observed, has been in existence only ten years, Montserado having been purchased in December, 1821, and settled in June of the next season.

In the Fourteenth Report of the Society, we are informed, that the territory, to which they have given the general name of Liberia, extends from Gallinas river north to Kroo Settra south, being a distance of two hundred and eighty miles along the coast, with a collateral extent inland, which is left indefinite in some cases, but is no where less than twenty or thirty miles. At about the latter distance is a belt of dense and almost impassable forest, which is nearly parallel with the line of the coast ; and which, being one or two days' journey in breadth, has heretofore almost entirely prevented intercourse, both between the interior and maritime tribes of natives, and between the former and foreign nations. The African population, more or less within the Colonial jurisdiction, is about one hundred and fifty thousand. All this territory has been purchased of the native chiefs ; and two considerable and valuable portions of it, Cape Mount and Grand Bassa, within a few months. The former is upon the shore of a large lake formed by the confluence of several rivers, affording great facilities for inland navigation and trade. The amount of African produce exported annually from this neighbourhood is estimated at more than sixty thousand dollars, and must necessarily admit of great increase under the management of a peaceable and civilized foreign nation.

Grand Bassa, which is about as far south of the principal settlement, Monrovia (at Cape Mesurado), as Cape Mount is north, is intersected by a river easily and safely accessible to vessels of one hundred tons. Between this and Monrovia is the Junk river, which is more than fifty miles long. The whole course of it has been examined during the last season, and the country on both sides is found to be beautifully diversified. The soil here, as well as very generally throughout the colony, is a deep, rich



vegetable mould, covered occasionally with majestic forests, abounding in valuable ship-timber, and full of situations suitable for agricultural settlements. The river St. Paul's, a few miles north of Monrovia, is half a mile wide at the mouth, and supposed to have a course of two or three hundred miles. There are two flourishing settlements upon it, and one or two between it and Monrovia, all which are united by a cross stream called Stockton Creek. The land was described by the colonial agent, Dr. Randall, as equal, in every respect, to the best upon the southern rivers in the United States.

As to the animals and productions of this territory, the domestic class of the former are nearly the same with those of this country, and are raised in great numbers. The rivers and streams furnish an inexhaustible supply of fish, and the forests are filled with game, in the usual abundance of well-situated and well-watered tropical districts. The fruits are plantains, bananas, vines, lemons, oranges, tamarinds, mangoes, prunes, guavas, pine-apples, grapes, cherries, and others; the roots, sweet potatoes, cassada, yams, cocoa, every variety of beans and peas, cucumbers and melons, pumpkins, &c. Sugar, coffee, and indigo grow wild; and rice, Indian and Guinea corn, millet, and pepper are cultivated with ease, and yield plentiful returns. The Liberian coffee, in particular, is well known by many in this country to be of the first quality; and as the colonists are beginning to turn their attention more steadily to agriculture than heretofore, and the managers have recently made arrangements for an experimental establishment to be devoted wholly to the cultivation of this article, there can be little doubt of its soon becoming a staple.

The agriculture of the colony leads us to speak of its chief rival, the trade, which has been almost too profitable individually, to be at all so to the settlement at large. A considerable number of small vessels are owned by the colonists, and are actively engaged at and about the various trading factories along the coast, and in supplying the natives resident on the rivers and streams. The commerce consists of an exchange of American and English imported articles, for African dyewoods, ivory, hides, gold, palm-oil, and rice. The net profits on the two first-mentioned alone, from January to June, 1826, were thirty thousand seven hun-

dred and eighty-six dollars. In 1829, the African products exported amounted to twice that sum; last year, to eighty-eight thousand nine hundred and eleven dollars. On the whole, there is some reason for the friends of the colony to rejoice, that the eagerness with which the settlers have rushed into this business, rather to the disparagement of more stable interests, is likely to be speedily checked, not only by the prudent system of allotment recently adopted, but by the effects of the prosperity of trade itself, — the more than sufficient foreign importation, and the increased competition at home.

The system of government, exercised by the Society, is no doubt familiar to our readers. It is already mostly in the hands of the settlers, and will no doubt be so altogether at some future time, when circumstances may render it proper. We shall complete the summary we have undertaken by the addition of a few extracts from letters of various highly respectable and impartial persons, who have visited the colony within a year or two past. Captain Sherman, of Philadelphia, under date of May, 1830, speaks thus of the chief settlement:

“Monrovia, at present, consists of about ninety dwelling houses and stores, two houses for public worship, and a courthouse. Many of the dwellings are handsome and convenient, and all of them comfortable. The plot of the town is cleared more than a mile square, elevated about seventy feet above the level of the sea, and contains seven hundred inhabitants. The streets are generally one hundred feet wide, and, like those of our good city, intersect each other at right angles.

“The court holds its sessions on the first Monday in every month; juries are empannelled as with us; and its jurisdiction extends over the whole colony. The trials are, principally, for larceny, and the criminals are generally natives, who commit thefts in the settlements. A few instances of kidnapping have occurred; these depredations were committed on the recaptured Africans. To the honor of the emigrants be it mentioned, that but five of their number have been committed for stealing or misdemeanor, since 1827.

“There is much hospitality to be found in Monrovia, and among the inhabitants a greater proportion of moral and religious characters than in this city. I never saw a man intoxicated, nor heard any profane swearing, during the three weeks I was among them.

"The two houses for religious worship, are Baptist and Methodist. The Baptists have three, and the Methodists five preachers, all intelligent colored men, merchants and traders residing among them; so that the people have nothing to pay for the support of ministers. Five German missionaries, some ministers and teachers, reside there, a portion of whom preach at the Methodist church occasionally." — Carey's *Letters on the Colonization Society*, p. 22.

The letter of Captain Abels, of Maryland, which has been generally circulated in the newspapers, was written but a few months since. He observes :

"All my expectations, in regard to the aspect of things, the health, harmony, order, contentment, industry, and general prosperity of the settlers, were more than realized. There are about two hundred buildings in the town of Monrovia, extending along the Cape Montserado, not far from a mile and a quarter. Most of these are good, substantial houses and stores (the first story of many of them being of stone), and some of them handsome, spacious, painted, and with Venetian blinds. Nothing struck me as more remarkable, than the great superiority, in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance, in every respect, of the people over their colored brethren in America. So much was I pleased with what I saw, that I observed to the people, should I make a true report, it would hardly be credited in the United States. Among all that I conversed with, I did not find a discontented person, or hear one express a desire to return to America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. Being a minister of the gospel, on Christmas day I preached both in the Methodist and Baptist church, to full and attentive congregations, of from three to four hundred persons in each. I know of no place where the Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia." — *Letters on the Colonization Society*, p. 24.

Captain Kennedy, of the United States' ship Java, wrote about a year since. We shall cite only a passage of his testimony upon one point :

"It may not be improper to observe, in the outset, that my inquiries were commenced under auspices very unfavorable to the practicability of the scheme of your Society; for while, I trust, I yielded unfeigned acknowledgment of the piety and purity of purpose which governed its worthy and disinterested projectors, yet the vast difficulties attending the prosecution of their labors, and the very problematical results, in the want of

success, left an impression upon my mind, altogether unfavorable to the institution. Under these impressions, therefore, I commenced my inquiry with great caution. I sought out the most shrewd and intelligent of the colonists, many of whom were personally known to me, and by long and weary conversations, endeavoured to elicit from them any dissatisfaction with their condition (if such existed), or any latent design to return to their native country. Neither of these did I observe. On the contrary, I thought I could perceive, that they considered that they had started into a new existence; that, disencumbered of the mortifying relations in which they formerly stood in society, they felt themselves proud of their attitude, and seemed conscious, that, while they were the founders of a new empire, they were prosecuting the noble purpose of the regeneration of the land of their fathers." — *Letters on the Colonization Society*, p. 23.

The writer of an able article on the slave-trade, for the *London Amulet*, for 1832, said to be a distinguished naval officer, 'has the following, among other remarks on the American colony :

"The character of these industrious colonists is exceedingly correct and moral; their minds strongly impressed with religious feelings; their manners serious and decorous; and their domestic habits remarkably neat and comfortable. Those who have visited them, speak highly of their appearance and mode of living. They are a comely and well-formed race of negroes; neat and clean in their persons; modest and civil in their manners; and regular and comfortable in their dwellings. Their houses are well built, ornamented with gardens and other pleasing decorations, and on the inside are remarkably clean; the walls well white-washed, and the rooms neatly furnished." — *Letters on the Colonization Society*, p. 24.

We shall close our extracts with the recent letter of Dr. Shane, of Washington, who went out last winter with the first emigrants from the valley of the Mississippi. The easy liveliness and *bonhomme* of the original, have prevented us from giving a much briefer abstract :

"At times, on our passage out, they were quite desponding, and seemed ready to turn back to the flesh-pots of Egypt, especially when we stopped at the island of Mayo, a remarkably barren and unfruitful place, which tended to confirm them in the opinion, that the nearer they approached Africa, the more sterile and unfruitful was the land; but when we made Cape Mount, where vegetation was seen in all its luxuriance, and

not a spot of ground but what was covered with the greenest verdure, their tone was changed, and their countenances brightened up, especially when the Kroomen boarded us, and, in answer to their inquiries, enumerated some of the productions of Liberia, and they came to the conclusion that there was some hope of obtaining a decent livelihood. The coast between Cape Mount and here is lined with the lofty palm, and plantations of rice and cassada, and resembles very much the eastern coast of the United States. I visited them at Caldwell on Wednesday. They were overjoyed to see me, but soon let me know they had no wish to return. Davy's wife, Lishy, in particular, who had been complaining all the way out, and declaring she would go back or write to Kentucky for none to come, came to me and said, 'Oh, Doctor, I find I can live here as well as in the United States; all I want is to see the rest of my people here. I must write for them to come; you must see them, and tell them how it is,' &c. This was a source of much gratification, but not of wonder to me, when I see their prospects. All emigrants here are treated with the utmost kindness by the officers of government, who interest themselves personally in their behalf, and endeavour to make them as comfortable as possible. The vice-agent, Mr. A. D. Williams, has promised to do all he can for Davy. McKie has the most flattering prospects held out. All that is wanting here is industry, to make the emigrants not only in easy circumstances, but wealthy. Land is purchased at twenty-five cents per acre, and every inducement held out to the farmer and mechanic. Coffee, sugar-cane, and cotton grow wild; the last of which I was picking myself yesterday, in sight of the town. I hear no dissatisfaction expressed by the emigrants, nor any desire to return to the United States. Gov. Mechlin is absent, holding land palaver, and expects to make some very valuable additions to the colony. Mr. Williams took charge of all on board, and I shall take his receipt for the same. At the island of Mayo, I sold the potatoes, which were spoiling, and a few barrels of bread, and shipped two hundred and forty bushels of salt for the colony, which will yield a net profit of one hundred and seventy-five or two hundred dollars. The Crawford sails to day for the leeward, on a trading expedition of three weeks. At the advice of the vice-agent, I shall remain on board, as Governor Mechlin requested I should not sleep on shore unless I remained here. I shall visit Millsburg on my return, and will probably reach the United States in June. The so much dreaded fever here is becoming quite harmless; some expeditions lose none, and nearly all who

came out in the James Perkins, have gone through the attack with the loss of only four or five. Some of them have already commenced making brick, others working at the bench, others tanning hides, &c. I am certain no friend to humanity can come here and see the state of things without being impressed with the immense benefits the Society is conferring on the long neglected and oppressed sons of Africa, and find their whole soul enlisted in behalf of so noble an institution. Let but the colored man come and see for himself, and the tear of gratitude will beam in his eye, as he looks forward to the not far distant day, when Liberia shall take her stand among the nations of the world, and proclaim abroad an empire, founded by benevolence, offering a home to the poor, oppressed, and weary. Nothing, rest assured that nothing but a want of knowledge of Liberia, prevents thousands of honest, industrious free blacks from rushing to this heaven-blessed land, where liberty and religion, with all their blessings, are enjoyed.

"Four Guinea-men have been captured near here in less than a month." — *African Repository*, pp. 109, 110.

In regard to what is said of the Liberian climate and the health of the settlers, here and elsewhere, it is proper that the public should be well informed of the circumstances which have occasioned the controversy on this subject, as well as of the merits of that controversy itself. The lives of our citizens, whether white or black, are not a matter to be trifled with, certainly, as those of inferior animals sometimes are, in the prosecution of experiments of any kind; nor yet, on the other hand, ought an accusation of such a character, for proportionally good reasons, to rest unjustly on the Society or its advocates. Under these impressions, we have undertaken and completed what we consider a thorough examination of all the evidence bearing upon the question referred to, with which the public have been favored for some years past. Our conclusions are as follows:

1. That the mortality among the emigrants of all descriptions, from first to last, has not only been small in comparison with that of Sierra Leone and other settlements on the same coast, but that it has not been, absolutely, very considerable. The present population, as compared with the estimate of emigrants colonized, — and bearing in mind that no other class is included under the census, — renders this matter sufficiently clear. The actual loss since the settlements commenced, as far as we have been able to ascertain,

is somewhere between one and two hundred, excluding, of course, the deaths which took place in the preliminary miscellaneous attempts to obtain a location.

2. That the number of deaths, during the first few years, was proportionably much greater than during the last. Up to January, 1824, forty-six deaths had occurred, including all the emigrants, at Sierra Leone and elsewhere. About half of these were among the passengers in the first vessel fitted out. Eight were on board the *Oswego*, which went out in 1823; three among the one hundred and five passengers of the *Cyrus* the next season, which three were small children; two of the sixty-six passengers in the *Hunter* in 1825. Of the thirty-four who went out from Boston in the *Vine*, the same year, and the only expedition furnished by New England, more than half fell victims to the climate. Now let us observe, that, of the one hundred and fifty-four emigrants from North-Carolina, who sailed during the same winter, "not an individual suffered materially from sickness; while some, who left Norfolk in bad health, ultimately derived benefit from the change of climate: all felt, more or less, the symptoms of fever, ague, and prostration of strength, which the system must necessarily experience on transition from a temperate to a tropical climate."\* In 1827, ninety-three more went from North Carolina, who "enjoyed perfect health during the voyage, and experienced the effects of the climate with only the loss of two small children." The *Randolph*, with twenty-six slaves from South Carolina, landed "all her passengers in perfect health." Four children were lost among the one hundred and sixty-four passengers in the *Nautilus*. But of one hundred and seven in the *Doris*, twenty-four died; and twenty-six of the one hundred and sixty in the *Harriet*, which sailed from Norfolk in 1829. Not to pursue the catalogue farther, not one died of the ninety-one recaptured Africans colonized the next year; and we are informed on the best authority, under date of last March, that "among the emigrants by the *Volador*, *Criterion*, *James Perkins*, *Margaret Mercer*, and *Crawford*, the number of deaths will not average quite four per cent." This leads us to remark,

3. That it may be proved, as well as presumed, that the

occasional disproportion of deaths, observable in this statement, was owing to causes in some measure accidental, but most of which have been ascertained, and ascertained to be of a character which reasonable and easy precautions are sufficient to obviate. Of course they need not be repeated. Some of these causes are to be looked for in the imprudence and improvidence of the emigrants; but more in their mere inexperience, and in that of the Society, in regard to matters wherein experience could be their only instructor, and wherein, experience once gained, an undue mortality could not and cannot continue, without becoming the fault, as well as misfortune, of all concerned.

To illustrate:—The early cases were generally owing, like the suffering of the Plymouth settlers two centuries before, not only to the fatigues of settlement, and defence against the natives, but to the want of good houses, and to ignorance of a regimen and manner of life suited to the climate. Subsequent to the erection of proper buildings for the emigrants newly arrived, and the establishment of a proper medical system, the only two cases of great mortality are those of the *Doris* and the *Harriet*. As to these, it is but justice to the managers to cite their own statements: "It deserves remembrance," they say, in the Report for 1829, "that the season was one of the most unhealthy ever known; that the passage of the *Doris* had been nearly twice the usual length; that *the mortality was confined to those who had occupied most northerly situations in this country*; and that all the deaths occurred in *Monrovia*." The reason last mentioned alludes to the superior healthiness of the high land in the interior, a point well confirmed by recent experience, and made more important by the attention recently paid to the inland and upland settlements. These are found to be as healthy as the ridges of Virginia, and indeed the climate is very similar. As to the *Harriet*: The same cause applied to her passengers: "But there were other and powerful causes"; [*Report of 1830.*] one of which was "imprudent exposure to the weather," and another, "a free indulgence in tropical fruits."

But, supposing these conclusions to be correct, the question still arises, have the managers done what belonged to their province for the prevention of mortality in future? We



believe that justice requires us to answer in the affirmative. We extract from the last report of the society :

“ Among the colonists generally, health has prevailed during the year, and it is the opinion of the Colonial Agent, that emigrants, after the first year, find the African climate more congenial to their constitutions than that of the United States. Some diseases which prove very destructive in our country, are there nearly unknown. Resolved to do all in their power to promote the health of the Colony, and to guard against the fatal effects of the climate, the Managers have recently sent out large supplies of medicines ; appropriated a fund for the erection of a hospital ; directed that the best situations be selected, both on the coast and in the interior, for all future emigrants, that buildings be constructed, and all things arranged and provided for their accommodation. The Managers are convinced that much of the mortality which has heretofore occurred, has been owing to ignorance of the climate, imprudent exertions, exposures and improper diet among those newly arrived, want of adequate medical advice, and of those comforts and attentions which neither the means of the Society, nor the circumstances of the Colony, just rising into existence on a remote shore, rendered it possible to supply. To the health of the Colony, the Managers have directed their thoughts as to an object of chief concern ; and they express confidently the opinion, that people of color from most regions of our Southern States will experience no serious injury from the African climate, and that such persons, from any section of our country, will soon be able to settle on the elevated lands of the interior, where there exist, it is believed, no special causes of disease.” p. 3.

These observations lead us to add a word in reference to the emigrating system, proper to be adopted in *this* country. We think it should be distinctly understood as the Society's policy to encourage, for the present, emigration *almost or quite exclusively from the Southern and Middle States*. The fate of the emigrants by the Vine is not indeed a criterion, on one side ; nor yet is the better fortune of many Southern expeditions, on the other. But let public circumspection, in a matter of such importance and interest to all parties, be respected ; and if prejudice exist, let it be subdued gradually. There is no lack of applicants for the colony, meanwhile. Two thousand were waiting for a passage at one period, a year or two since, in North Carolina alone. At this time, there are five hundred in Virginia, and two hundred in the

city of Charleston. The South-western States might suffice to employ all the Society's funds to convey, and also satisfy the limited competency of the colony to receive, for some considerable time. In a word, the Society may feel free to exercise a somewhat chary discretion in the selection of subjects, and public opinion, as well as true policy, requires that they should do so. Their own consciousness of this policy, indeed, appears in their publications previous to the last cited. Mr. Ashmun's intimations were very clear on the subject. "Draw a line," said he, "due east and west across Elkridge, Maryland, and not a death has invaded the people from the south of it,"—a statement alluding to the mortality of 1828.

On the whole, then, we believe that if emigration from *this* quarter be suspended for the present; if attempts be not made, which would be imprudent and improper under any circumstances, to colonize the aged, or the invalid, (several of which classes have heretofore swelled the bills of mortality,) or to *crowd* the settlements with too many of any description; if such preparations and precautions are taken and made in regard to the transportation and the becoming acclimatized, by the emigrants and by the Managers, as obvious reason and experience abundantly dictate, and for which the existing provision and pending declarations of the Society are a stable and solemn pledge;—with these qualifications, we believe that African colonization may be as safe as European generally has been to this country for the last fifty years. We suppose it to be true, as the Liberians stated in their address of 1827, that not one person in forty from the Middle and Southern States, has died from change of climate up to this date; that the seasoning which these emigrants are to expect, is, as Dr. Randall expressed it, "less a disease than a salutary effort of nature," to accommodate the system to new influences; that, with ordinary prudence, little danger is to be apprehended even on the coast, by sober and healthy emigrants from any section, and none at all by those from the South; that as the country becomes more cultivated and settled, it will rapidly become more salubrious; and that there is good reason to believe, that on the settlements which are and will be formed on the highlands, the diseases and the causes of disease, chiefly prevalent on the coast, are and will be alike unknown.

We have treated this subject rather at length, because in this part of the United States, there is more apprehension, and more cause for it, in regard to the Liberian climate, than there is respecting any other point suggested by the Society's publications. The advantages of the colony, and the benefits arising and to be expected from it, are generally too well understood to need much enforcing. Information is needed only upon a few matters which may be considered minutiae; and that information, we have thought, having once undertaken to furnish it, should be distinct, complete, and conclusive. We disclaim all interest in the case but such as springs from deliberate considerations of humanity, charity, patriotism, and truth. If mistakes are detected in the statements we have endeavoured to obtain and to communicate as correct ones, let them be exposed. So important a question ought not to be left undiscussed; still less ought it to be left undecided.

At the commencement of this article, we proposed to close with setting forth some of the principal arguments in favor of the Society. But our limits are already reached, and we must be content with barely sketching an outline of their principles, sufficient only to serve as a recapitulation of what they have published, and a suggestion for those of our readers who may be inclined to dwell upon any particulars of the system.

The Society was established simply for the Colonization of the Free Blacks of this country, or of such as might be manumitted for the purpose, with their consent, in Africa, or some other place. The motives which led to such a movement, and which still continue it, looked mainly to the condition and character of the class who were to be the objects of what was considered an enlarged, disinterested charity. They were thought to be the most ignorant, improvident, destitute, suffering, and degraded part of our community; and owing to the well known peculiar relation they bear to all other classes, a voluntary removal, under circumstances of comfort, liberty, education, emulation, and profitable and honorable employment, was believed to be their most effectual and speedy means of relief. Other considerations of course applied to the country at large, in illustration of which it might be sufficient to refer to the unerring test of the bills of mortality, pauperism, population, and crime. The free blacks, in this commonwealth at this time, constitute about one seventieth

part of our whole number, while their proportion of convicts in the Charlestown prison was recently stated at about one sixth.

As to the slaves, the slave-owners, and the slave-system, the Society have always declined interfering with them in any other way than by the exertion of a strong and undisguised moral influence; and especially by experiment and argument, going to show both the inutility and danger of the system, and the practicability of its being mitigated or wholly done away. Their hopes in this connexion (or rather those of some of their friends), of draining the country by removal, appear to us too sanguine; but they are undoubtedly doing much good in the information and reflection which they circulate and suggest. Their hopes of thus promoting voluntary emancipation, have been fulfilled to an extent highly gratifying as regards the happiness of many individuals, and still more the Society's prospects of ulterior success. Respecting slavery, their principle is to *induce* rather than to *do*.

The commercial advantages to be expected from a line of flourishing settlements on the African coast, were well stated by Mr. Jefferson and others as long since at least as 1811;\* but these are subordinate considerations. They depend also, for the amount of importance they may attain, on *the civilization of the natives*, which, after all, is the grand object for the Society and the Country to rely upon and to labor for. We do not add the *suppression of the slave-trade*, — on the Liberian coast and the vicinity, at least, — because we regard that momentous interest to be included in the one just mentioned. All who have examined this subject agree, that although the traffic might possibly be suppressed separately, the interior cannot, on the other hand, be civilized, except so far as the coast shall be cleared and the natives assured, permanently, against the inroads of the traders.

The Society believe, and we have no hesitation in saying that we believe with them, that the best if not only means which this country, under present circumstances, can take for promoting either or both of these great objects, is the foundation of agricultural settlements on the coast; the occupation of the mouths of rivers; the furnishing stations of refreshment and repair for American commerce, and the American Navy; the establishment of a colonial system of

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\* Letter to Mr. Lynd.

cruising on the coast ; but more than all the rest, the instruction, — by the surest and safest of all modes, example, association, and every inducement of kindred interest and emulation, — of those numerous, peaceable, and powerful tribes in the interior, which, while their docility and credulity make them easily the instruments, agents, and victims of the accursed trade, might as easily, for the same reasons, be instructed in the principles of the Gospel, and confirmed in the habits of civilized men.

Leaving these subjects at the threshold, we shall only add that the prospects of the Society on the African coast, are encouraging to a degree which ten years ago would hardly have been believed possible. Along the whole extent of their own territory in particular, the Slave-trade is nearly annihilated. The disposition of the natives, with whom they have cultivated an extensive intercourse, is precisely what was desired. The Liberian blacks are regarded with high respect, mingled with a cordial good will, and a determination to imitate their example as far as the opportunity shall be allowed. Children have been frequently sent in by the Chiefs, with an earnest request that they might be instructed ; and we believe that the two important purchases recently completed, of which we have spoken, were obtained mainly on the strength of a promise by the colonists to take early measures of a similar character for the benefit of the grantors and their countrymen. There never has been, since the days of the Apostles a nobler or a wider field for the missionary of civilization and Christianity. God grant there may be laborers enough for the harvest.

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ART. X. — *The Life of Gouverneur Morris, with Selections from his Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers ; detailing Events in the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and in the Political History of the United States.* By JARED SPARKS. 3 vols. 8vo. Boston. Gray & Bowen. 1832.

THE history of few nations is so full of instruction for succeeding generations as that of the United States. Short as

it is, many of the principal dangers, to which the nation and the government are exposed, have either been anticipated by the wise, and thus disarmed of their power, or have been experienced and passed through by the unchecked temerity of a youthful republic. The accumulation of precedents is not perhaps great ; but the cases are already in a course of repetition ; and it is thus demonstrated, that they are sufficiently numerous for the instruction and guidance of those who are desirous of improving, either by the suggestions of wisdom, or the lessons of experience. This assertion may sound paradoxical at first, but a slight examination of its grounds will show it not to be without foundation. In the first place, we date from no fabulous or doubtful antiquity ; every thing of importance, whether in event or character, is known with all the certainty of which history admits. No foolish fiction can mystify our origin ; no tradition can conceal the circumstances, under which we have sprung into existence, and grown to vigorous maturity. Descended too from nations which had formed for themselves established and civilized characters, no doubt is thrown over the source of our own peculiarities, the points which distinguish us from other people. Our antiquity is not so remote as to throw any of the obscurity of barbarism over the causes which have operated to form us such as we are ; but the reciprocal influence under which character is modified by circumstances, and the course of events affected by character, may be clearly and curiously traced throughout the whole brief, but varied history of the different governments that are now united into one people. It is impossible but that instruction should be drawn from recorded truth, if we are disposed to search for it ; and it is certain, that the history of our forefathers contains lessons as important as they are interesting to us and our children.

Another still greater source of the value of our history is, that, though so brief, it contains the record of many events that have exemplified the dangers to which the government is exposed. These dangers are, from the nature of our institutions, fewer than those to which others are exposed. More arbitrary governments, disposed to exercise control over their subjects in as great a variety of cases as possible, are perpetually encountering unforeseen difficulties. They assume authority in things not necessarily connected with

the good order of society, or with the stability of government; and thus, instead of strengthening their position, they only render themselves unnecessarily vulnerable upon a thousand points. Interfering, as they do, with the mode in which a man shall occupy himself, the education he shall be permitted to receive, the views of religion he may be allowed to profess, the books he may read, and even the intelligence of passing events he may hear, the government is perpetually coming across his path. He cannot do any thing, scarcely think of any thing, with which the authority of government is not mingled; and mingled not in the way of protection and support, but in interruption to his plans, in thwarting his natural and reasonable wishes, in encumbering his movements, and burdening his labor. These manifold restraints upon men's course of action are held necessary to the support of good government and good order. It is considered highly improper, that any one should presume to have a religious faith differing from that of his sovereign; and a diversity of opinion upon political subjects is held to be subversive of all order. The dignity and splendor of the government must be upheld by taxation; and thus men are compelled to furnish the means of imposing and perpetuating the most obnoxious restraints upon their own actions. It is not surprising that such opinions should be promulgated by the incumbents of the high places of worldly authority. There is something which seems so universally and deliciously intoxicating in the gilded cup of power, even when its contents are reduced to the smallest quantity, that it is natural that they, who have drunk of it deeply, should cling to it with insatiate appetite, with Argus watchfulness, and convulsive energy. It would not, however, have been anticipated, that they should find so many converts to their theory among those who were to be held in their iron grasp; that so many should be willing to contend for the privilege of being controlled in every movement and every thought. This is to be accounted for only from the prevailing ignorance of the proper end and object of government, and the engrossing attention required by more private and personal interests. It needs but a glance at the subject to perceive, that political government ought to secure to every individual as large a portion of his personal rights as is consistent with the common good; to protect the well-disposed against the

machinations of the bad ; “ to provide for the common defence and promote the general welfare.” Legitimate government has nothing to do with the establishment of privileged orders and classes in the community ; it never could have given to a few individuals, and their heirs and assigns, the inalienable right to control the general interests of society, whether this be done skilfully or unskilfully, with or without a due regard to justice and moral rectitude. Still less could it ever have given birth to those monstrous systems that have heretofore existed, and unhappily are still to be found, under which the governed appear to be treated like a conquered foe, subject to all the contumely and rapine which can be devised by an insulting and successful enemy. Where such a scheme as this is in practice ; where force is the only or principal agent of authority, the dangers to which the government is exposed, are, of course, greatly multiplied. It may be a strong government, but can hardly be called a secure one. It is the interest of the majority to overthrow it, and sooner or later they will find it out ; and in exact proportion to what has been considered the strength of the government, will be the fierceness of the conflict, and the terrors of succeeding vengeance. In this period of the world, especially, are those governments in danger, which, forgetful of their true purpose, seek to retain powers and privileges in the hands of the few at the expense of the many. It behoves every government, at the present day, when excitement on the subject of political rights is so universal, to be able to show that its institutions are not only compatible with the public good, but conducive to the general welfare. Things of a bad and dangerous tendency are now examined and questioned with more scrutiny than formerly ; their history and reason demanded ; and if they are not reformed by those who possess the power, they run the risk of being abolished by the indiscriminating fury of popular excitement.

We cannot be too thankful in this country, — we are certainly very far from feeling as grateful as we ought, — that we are not exposed to such tremendous convulsions as are now agitating the finest countries of Europe on this subject. As we have never suffered the evils under which they have long groaned, we can hardly realize the blessings of our exemption. Our government was originally and professedly



established for the true ends of all good government. It is a scheme skilfully framed, and it was deliberately adopted, and has thus far been maintained, by the will of the majority of the whole people. As we have no class possessed of peculiar privileges and none exempted from their share of the common burdens, as all men among us are really, as well as theoretically, equal in political and civil rights (so far as the condition of humanity will permit), it is impossible to array one class of society against another; there is a common interest which unites them all in the maintenance of such a system of government. The attempt has sometimes been made even here, to separate men into distinct classes, but it has always speedily failed; and it always must fail as long as it is so clearly for the interest of the majority to adhere to our established institutions. We are free therefore from the danger of political convulsion for the purpose of acquiring or securing rights for those who bear political burdens. We have them, and we have always enjoyed them, as completely and universally as they can be possessed. We are thus safe from a great majority of the dangers to which previous governments have been exposed. There is and there can be no discontent for want of political rights; and we have never heard a serious suggestion from any of those who are most inclined to complain, that any other system or scheme of government would be more desirable on the whole. The dangers to which we are exposed arise, not from the faults of our institutions, which are certainly adapted, as well as designed, to secure all common rights, and to promote the general welfare; but merely from the weakness of human nature, which is liable to become corrupted by the enjoyment of good, or negligent of blessings of which it has never been deprived. We have but to take care that our government is administered in the spirit in which it was planned. We wish for no reform, no change in its principles, but simply the strictest adherence to them.

We are singularly fortunate in the history of our government in this respect. Not only were its principles amply and ably discussed at the time of its adoption, but they have been practically developed under the general direction and administration of those who assisted in its formation. For thirty-six of the forty-four years since it was put in operation, it has been in the hands, either of those who made it,

or of those who were their contemporaries, both in the executive and legislative departments. It has for nearly half a century been the theme of exhaustless discussion and debate ; and if any important principle is left doubtful, it will really be a fortunate circumstance for our successors, that they may be saved from wasting their breath upon trifles.

If this endless discussion of the constitution be tedious, it still must ultimately settle the precise meaning of every phrase, so far as the unavoidable ambiguity of language will permit. It is not a thing of tradition or custom merely ; but an instrument partly founded upon the oldest habits of the country, and partly establishing new customs in the place of some which had proved injurious. It was a happy mixture of experiment and experience, combined by wisdom and moderation, and confided to the discretion of succeeding generations. If we fail to learn the lessons which the history of our own nation may teach us, the folly and the loss will be extreme indeed. The advantage of possessing the knowledge is indisputably great, the opportunity of acquiring it unprecedented, and the consequences of neglecting it incalculable.

Another circumstance which adds to the importance and the interest of our history is the extraordinary collection of men of rare talents and virtue, whose labors were united and devoted, with zeal and single-heartedness, to serve and exalt their country. It is a common, but we think a very ill founded remark, that talents are always produced or brought forward by the circumstances which require their action. If this were uniformly or generally the case, we should hear and see less of opportunities wasted, and advantages lost, for want of the talents or virtues adapted to the occasion. The truth is, that as the current of human affairs is not stopped to wait for the characters suited to the circumstances which arise, we are not always able to pronounce upon the changes which might have been for the better or worse in any given case. But it sometimes happens that there is so striking a proof either of adaptation, or the want of it, of character to situation, that it would be mere dulness to overlook the manifest purposes of Providence. Such is the case with regard to the history of the American and French revolutions respectively. No one will deny that in the narrative of the latter may be found demonstrations of as brilliant talents as

in that of the former ; but the difference, the great, and, for us, the glorious difference in the result arises from the fitness in the one case, and the unfitness in the other, of the characters developed by the occasions. We are compelled to see, and are bound to acknowledge with gratitude, the distinction which was appointed by God. We did not form the characters of our ancestors, and we should not, therefore, make them the subject of a foolish and barren pride ; but our own should, as far as may be, be formed upon theirs ; we should emulate the public virtues which they so remarkably displayed, and we must learn, from their lives, and the history of their glorious career, the important truth that public merit must be founded on the basis of private worth.

Among the illustrious men whose reputation constitutes the political treasure of our country, the name of Gouverneur Morris has always been conspicuous, and is now likely to take a higher rank than ever. His character will become more extensively known, and will be more valued in consequence of the able and interesting biography which Mr. Sparks has produced.

From the earliest period of manhood he was engaged in public affairs ; and from the beginning he took rank among those whose opinions were of most importance, and was in the confidence of those whose patriotism and talents were most distinguished. In the Provincial Congress of New York he advocated the declaration of independence, and afterwards in the Continental Congress he was engaged in all those multifarious ways in which circumstances rendered it necessary for the leading and most active members to be employed. Taking part in the debates of the public sessions, he labored also upon committees, where the greater portion of the business fell upon his shoulders ; he was sent to the army to consult with the commander upon the state and the prospect of affairs, and to devise the best remedies for existing evils ; he was employed in arranging schemes of finance, better modes of conducting the public business in Congress, and a new organization of the army in every department. And upon all these subjects he showed such industry, sagacity, quickness, and accuracy of observation, such promptness of decision and fertility of resource, such cheerful courage in difficulty, and such unwavering integrity at all times, as render his example one of the most pleasing and useful to be

found in the records of that eventful and illustrious era.\* It must have been no common mind which, at the early age of five or six and twenty, could have stood thus prominent amid that honored band of the wise and the patriotic among our fathers.

At a subsequent period he was connected with Robert Morris, as his assistant, in all those important financial operations which contributed so much to our success in the revolutionary contest. He had shown a great aptitude for such occupations both in Congress, and afterwards by a series of articles on the state of the finances, published in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, which displayed the most comprehensive and clear views of that perplexed subject, the currency, and a thorough acquaintance with the true principles of finance. In this office his labors must have been as great, and their results as useful, as at any period of his life.

The next prominent part which he acted was as a mem-

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\* The following extract from one of his letters exhibits the course of his life in Congress, and justifies the remark of Mr. Sparks, "that nothing but a prodigious industry, firm health of body, and a wide grasp of mental powers, could have enabled him to endure and perform so much."

"Not many years before his death, a person applied to him for written materials, respecting events of the revolution in which he had been personally engaged. His reply will add light to this subject. 'I have no notes,' said he, 'or memorandums of what passed during the war. I led then the most laborious life, which can be imagined. This you will readily suppose to have been the case, when I was engaged with my departed friend, Robert Morris, in the office of finance. But what you will not so readily suppose is, that I was still more harassed while a member of Congress. Not to mention the attendance from eleven to four in the House, which was common to all, and the appointment to special committees, of which I had a full share, I was at the same time chairman, and of course did the business, of three standing committees, viz. on the commissary's, quartermaster's, and medical departments. You must not imagine, that the members of these committees took any charge or burden of the affairs. Necessity, preserving the democratical forms, assumed the monarchical substance of business. The chairman received and answered all letters and other applications, took every step which he deemed essential, prepared reports, gave orders, and the like, and merely took the members of a committee into a chamber, and for the form's sake made the needful communications, and received their approbation, which was given of course. I was moreover obliged to labor occasionally in my profession, as my wages were insufficient for my support. I would not trouble you with this abstract of my situation, if it did not appear necessary to show you why I kept no notes of my services, and why I am perhaps the most ignorant man alive of what concerns them.' All the papers he has left pertaining to that period, as well as the printed records, confirm the accuracy of this picture of his life in Congress." — Vol. i. pp. 217, 218.

ber of the convention for forming the constitution of the United States. Of this we have no memoranda to enable us to judge of the degree in which his mind was exerted, and his influence felt, except the following extract of a letter from him to Col. Pickering, written long afterwards, and the testimony of the venerable survivor of that assembly. He says to Col. Pickering, "While I sat in the convention, my mind was too much occupied by the interests of our country, to keep notes of what we had done. Some gentlemen, I was told, passed their evenings in transcribing speeches from shorthand minutes of the day. My faculties were on the stretch to further our business, remove impediments, obviate objections, and conciliate jarring opinions."

Mr. Madison, in answer to inquiries made by Mr. Sparks relative to Mr. Morris's agency in the Convention, says, "He was an able, an eloquent, and an active member," and attributes to his pen "the *finish* given to the style and arrangement of the Constitution." We should quote the whole of Mr. Madison's interesting letter but for its length, and the fact of its having been circulated extensively in the newspapers. We cannot forbear, however, from adding the following sentence, which mentions a trait of character alike honorable to him who possessed it, and to him who observed and acknowledged its existence.

"It is but due to Mr. Morris to remark, that, to the brilliancy of his genius, he added, what is too rare, a candid surrender of his opinions, when the lights of discussion satisfied him, that they had been too hastily formed, and a readiness to aid in making the best of measures in which he had been overruled." This is a beautiful evidence of the candor of two highminded men, who, with very different general views and feelings, can yet sacrifice prejudice and self-love to the desire to do justice to each other's merits.

It may be safely inferred from this testimony, that Mr. Morris's talents were as powerfully felt in that convention as on other interesting occasions.

In the winter of 1788-9 Mr. Morris went to Europe, and arriving in Paris at the opening of the French Revolution, there was abundant opportunity for the exercise of his mind upon passing events. He kept a journal of what he saw and heard, from which Mr. Sparks has given us copious extracts, and there is a sagacity and a liveliness of remark pervading it,

which show how well he was suited to make the most of his opportunities.\* His judgment was too sound to be misled by the mere cry of liberty which resounded through all France. He knew that something else was required to obtain it, besides the mere wish; and he saw the want of those principles and habits of freedom which must of necessity be gradually formed, and which alone can give consistency to the government and security to the people. He was, therefore, entirely opposed to the revolutionary party, properly so called, and thought that even the more moderate among the reformers, of whom Lafayette was the leader and the organ, went beyond the limits that were most suitable to their age and nation. The result has, unhappily, proved the correctness of his views; for after forty years of anarchy, misrule, and convulsion, France is but now, — if, indeed, even now, — *beginning* to acquire those more sober

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\* We cannot indulge ourselves in quotations, which would multiply upon us as we advanced; but as a slight specimen of his manner of observation we shall give the few following sentences.

“*March 27th.* — At three the Maréchal de Castries calls, and takes me to dine with Monsieur and Madame Necker. In the *salon* we found Madame. She seems to be a woman of sense, and somewhat of the masculine in her character. A little before dinner Monsieur enters. He has the look and manner of the counting-house, and, being dressed in embroidered velvet, he contrasts strongly with his habiliments. His bow, his address, say, “I am the man.” Our company is one half academicians. The Dutchess of Biron, formerly Lauzun, is one. I observe that M. Necker seems occupied by ideas, which rather distress him. He cannot, I think, stay in office half an hour, after the nation insist on keeping him there. He is now much harassed, and Madame receives continually *Mémoires* from different people; so that she seems as much occupied as he is. If he is really a very great man, I am deceived; and yet this is a rash judgment. If he is not a laborious man, I am also deceived.” — pp. 298–9.

“*June 6th.* — The Bishop of Autun (Talleyrand), who is one of our company, and an intimate friend of Madame Flahaut, appears to me a sly, cool, cunning, ambitious, and malicious man. I know not why conclusions so disadvantageous to him are formed in my mind; but so it is, and I cannot help it.” — p. 312.

“*November 4th.* — Go to Madame de Staël's, in consequence of her invitation of yesterday. A great deal of *bel esprit*. The Bishop declined coming this morning, when I asked him at Madame de Flahaut's. I think that in my life I never saw such exuberant vanity, as that of Madame de Staël upon the subject of her father. Speaking of the opinion of the Bishop d'Autun on the church property, which he has lately printed, not having had an opportunity to deliver it in the Assembly, she says that it is excellent, it is admirable, in short, that there are two pages in it, which are worthy of M. Necker. Afterwards, she said, that wisdom is a very rare quality, and that she knows of no one who possesses it in a superlative degree, excepting her father.” — p. 335.

views and habits which are requisite to the union of "liberty and order." Separated thus by his opinions from those who would have been expected to be most naturally his friends, he became associated with many of the royalist party; and it is a circumstance not a little singular in the history of an American constitutional republican, that he should be in the confidence of the royal family of France at that epoch, that he should give them counsel, and aid of a valuable kind, and receive their thanks for the services he rendered them. There was not, in all this, the slightest compromise of his own principles. He was as much a republican for America as ever; but he was not satisfied that republican principles would flourish, if violently transplanted to the climate of France, as vigorously as on their native soil.

While he was residing in Paris attending to his private affairs, he received a commission from President Washington, to undertake a secret negotiation with the British ministry, respecting the cession of the frontier posts, the compensation for slaves carried off during the war, and other particulars of the treaty of peace, with which they were backward in complying. In this delicate business he discovered his usual acuteness and tact, and if he gained no other object, he well represented the dignity and the intelligence of his country. He was afterwards appointed minister to the court of France, and resided in that capacity either at Paris, or at Sainport, a village a few leagues from the capital, during the following years, signalized by the ruin of the monarchy, and the rapid succession of constitutions, of which it may be said that they were, like the chaos of which the earth was made, "without form and void." He was the only foreign minister who did not retire from the scene of desolation and horror which France then presented; and it was not without imminent personal danger that he remained at his post; "but he looked upon the public interests as paramount to all other considerations, and as demanding every personal sacrifice, not absolutely at variance with the honor of his country." He was relieved from his post by the arrival of Mr. Monroe in August, 1794, and passed the next four years in travelling in England, Scotland, Switzerland, and Germany. In Berlin and Vienna he made repeated and judicious efforts for the liberation of Lafayette; and it is no discredit to him, whatever it may be to the governments he addressed, that they were

made in vain. He, however, entertained the opinion, in consequence probably of Lafayette's being delivered up to the American consul at Hamburg in his presence, and with a certain degree of formality, that his release was in consequence of the repeated efforts he had made. Mr. Sparks has, without doubt, placed the matter on the true ground in the following paragraph :

" After all, we may probably take the following to be the true state of the case. The condition of the prisoners at Olmutz was discussed at Leoben. Bonaparte requested their release, which was readily granted, since M. Thugut had declared to Mr. Morris, that they would naturally be given up at the peace. They must not be regarded, however, in the light of the prisoners of war, for these were not discharged till after the definitive treaty of Campo Formio, whereas Lafayette was released a month before the signature of that treaty. In this stage of the business, as it would require no sacrifice on the part of the Austrian government, there being no published stipulation with the French negotiator, it was convenient for them to give it the air of a favor to the United States, and to make the most of it in that shape. Had it come a year, or even six months earlier, it would have borne stronger marks of sincerity." — p. 458.

Another person to whom Mr. Morris was enabled to render the most important services during the last years he remained in Europe, was Louis Philippe, then the young Duke of Orleans, now King of the French. The changes of circumstances which have occurred to this monarch are among the most remarkable on record ; and it is gratifying to know that America, in the person of one of her distinguished sons, may claim the praise of having contributed to relieve him in the hour of his need, and that the vicissitudes through which he has passed have tended to form in him a character, far better adapted than it could otherwise have been, to the difficult, perilous, and glorious station he now holds. We quote with pleasure the following letter from the Duke to Mr. Morris, as an evidence of the best dispositions to improve under the circumstances in which he was then placed. In assuming the humble duties of a tutor for his personal support, he had already given the best practical proof that his expressions were not used without understanding their weight.



*"Bremgarten, February 24th 1795.*

"Sir, I accept with much pleasure the offers you make me. Your kindness is a blessing I owe to my mother, and to our friend. I am sure, that my excellent mother will be somewhat consoled, and more tranquil, to know that I am near you, in your happy country. I am very ready to labor to acquire independence. Hardly had I entered upon life, when the greatest misfortunes assailed me, but, thanks to God, they did not overwhelm me, — too happy in my reverses, that my youth had not given me time to become too much attached to my station, or to contract habits difficult to be broken, and that I was deprived of my fortune before I could either use or abuse it.

"Your excellent friend has the goodness to undertake to send you many particulars respecting my present condition, which are tedious enough, but of which you ought to be informed. I hope, Sir, my confidence will afford you another proof of all those sentiments of esteem and friendship, which you inspire in me.

*"L. P. D'ORLEANS."*

In 1798, Mr. Morris returned to his original sphere of usefulness, his native land, and immediately occupied as large a space as ever in the eye of the community. He was engaged with Livingston, against Hamilton and Burr, in a remarkable law case, of which tradition still speaks as a display of the most brilliant powers on both sides. He was then elected to the Senate of the United States, where he sustained his reputation as a powerful thinker and debater; but not being reelected, he retired in 1803 to private life, in which he spent thirteen years of happiness and activity. It was a necessity of his nature to think with brilliancy, and of this no better evidence could be given, than the fact that it was he, as Mr. Sparks has made sufficiently plain, who first suggested the idea of connecting lake Erie with the Hudson river by a water communication. The last years of his life were devoted to the pursuit of this splendid object, and we hardly know one more worthy to have been the last great subject of interest to a man whose whole life had been given to the promotion of his country's good.

From this brief review of the course of that life, it must be apparent that it was one full of interest and incident, of wisdom and of instruction. It is the reputation of such men that we prize for our country, and on which we should hope

that of our country might rest. Not that we should agree with all Mr. Morris's theories of government, nor with all his predilections ; but we have the highest respect for talents, guided, as his were, by strict integrity and uprightness. If a man will conscientiously pursue what he believes to be right, and will show that he has, in general, the sagacity and wisdom necessary to discover what is useful, we can excuse him for holding notions of government either too lax on the one hand, or too strong on the other. Especially can we, who belong to another generation, make allowance for the prejudice instilled by early education into the minds of our political fathers, which led them to admire with excessive ardor some of the valuable parts of the British Constitution, while they carefully kept out of sight the defects and faults, both of theory and practice, which may truly be charged upon that government. We are bound also to look with leniency upon the opposite prejudice imbibed by those who, more struck with the deplorable blemishes which may certainly be found in it, have condemned with too unqualified a censure the whole system ; and we hope we may be allowed to cherish, without encountering a sneer at our youthful enthusiasm, something like a filial attachment to the government under which we were happily born, and have happily lived. It seems to us, not merely to be that which is best adapted to the character and condition of our own community, but best suited to the best attainable condition of humanity ; and we can wish nothing better to other nations than that they may acquire the character which will render it suitable for them, and nothing better for ourselves than that we may retain to perpetuity the "liberty and union" which has been found, and may be found hereafter, under our Constitution. We know the dangers that have threatened it, and the greater dangers, perhaps, which now menace it ; we know that it is, physically speaking, a weak government, that it can never enforce a law but by means of the very subjects of that law ; but we are sure, also, that moral influence is stronger than armies, that a *majority* possesses more power than the best police, and that the staff of a peace-officer among us has more force than the sabre of a *gendarme* in other countries. There is a moral beauty in our peaceful union, which must and does possess a powerful attraction for every member of it ; and which has called

forth strong expressions of admiration from others. There is a force of persuasion which sometimes overpowers all resistance, and it is this strength in which we wish our government to abound. Let it still persuade by the blessings it scatters, the security it affords to all that is lawful and desirable, the rights, the privileges, the advantages which, under its protection, are common to all, and we shall have no fear that it will not command the attachment which is necessary to its prosperity.

We have left ourselves little room, and it is, perhaps, superfluous, to speak of the manner in which Mr. Sparks has accomplished his task. We are accustomed to look upon his name as a sufficient guaranty of the merit of the work to which it is prefixed, and this biography of Gouverneur Morris is only an additional proof of the correctness of our opinion. His materials were copious and interesting, and he has used them so that they appear to the greatest advantage. Familiar as he is with the general and minute history of the time comprehended in the life of Mr. Morris, every thing is brought to bear on what requires illustration or proof; nothing is overlooked, and nothing left in obscurity which can be explained by contemporary events or opinions. There is, too, a soundness of judgment, a fairness and right-mindedness pervading all his productions, which render them valuable correctives of prejudice, and important guides to the formation of judicious opinions. He never shrinks from stating a useful truth because it may be disagreeable, and is never disposed to exaggerate or under-estimate any one's just reputation. It is by such men that history and biography ought to be written, and we acknowledge ourselves highly pleased that he has so successfully accomplished the work before us, and that it has fallen to him to undertake the task of publishing the writings of that greatest and brightest of human examples, the irreproachable Washington. We hope neither his life, his health, his opportunities, nor his industry will fail, till that noble monument of his country's glory shall be completed

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ART. XI. — *The Christian Doctrine of Regeneration.*

By I. H. T. BLANCHARD. Boston. Leonard C. Bowles and B. H. Greene. 1832. 12mo. pp. 81.

WE care not how much calm and judicious discussions of doctrinal topics, like the one before us, are multiplied. It may be that there are as good or better treatises on the same subjects already before the public; still many, for various reasons, will read the new book, who but for this would read none. Besides, new doubts will from time to time arise, and new difficulties and objections be started, which the recent publication will take care to meet and obviate, and new connexions and bearings be suggested, which the recent publication will take care to consider and weigh.

Mr. Blanchard begins with a careful "review and illustration" of the first part of the conversation of Christ with Nicodemus, and particularly of the declaration, "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

"I have quoted the passage," says he, "as it appears in our in our version. It is to be observed, that it is printed, 'born of water and of the Spirit,' with the article prefixed to the last word, and with a capital letter as the initial. This is calculated to suggest immediately, and very naturally, to the common reader, the idea that the Spirit of God is meant, or, as some would understand it, the third person in the Trinity. Either supposition would be erroneous. The strict literal translation of the original, is, *born of water and spirit*. There is no more reason for writing the latter part of the expression, *the Spirit*, with the article and a capital, than for writing the former, *the Water*; both are written alike in the original, without an article, or a capital. I have no doubt that this circumstance, trivial as it may appear to some, has misled many a reader into an erroneous interpretation of the passage, and has done much to perpetuate the error.

"Making then this correction in our version, the declaration of our Lord would stand thus; 'Except a man be born of water and spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' To be 'born of water,' is to be baptized, and baptism is an outward sign or symbol of a new religious profession. To be 'born of spirit,' is, simply, to be born in a spiritual sense, to be spiritually born. This was intended undoubtedly to be a repetition,

and at the same time an explanation, of what he had first affirmed, 'Ye must be born again.' — p. 8.

To be spiritually born, as he afterwards explains it more at length, is to have the temper and principles of a spiritual religion formed in the mind, without which no one can expect to participate in the benefits of Christ's mediation. This, as he shows in the second section, is "the essential truth inculcated" in the passage under consideration, and then proceeds to indicate some of the causes which have tended to obscure it. We do hope that much more need not be written to convince any body capable of putting two ideas together, that "regeneration" is not, properly speaking, a Christian doctrine, nor a literal statement of a Christian doctrine, but simply and solely a figure of speech sometimes used by the sacred writers to illustrate a Christian doctrine. If a writer or preacher uses the term, he must do it as a matter of taste, and not because it is necessary or important to the inculcation of the whole counsel of God. On the subject of pressing too hard the analogies between the spiritual and a natural birth, Mr. Blanchard says :

"It grows out of an abuse or overstraining of a single figure of speech adopted by our Lord on a single occasion, so far as we know, and occurring sometimes in the writings of his apostles. To strain this figure into a complete analogy, is the same abuse as might be committed, and often has been committed, upon almost all the comparisons and parables that are found in the New Testament, sometimes to the scandal of the Christian religion, and always to the reproach of those who would be 'wise above what is written.' There is in truth no analogy of any importance between the natural birth and the spiritual birth, except that as one is the commencement of the natural life, so the other is the commencement of the spiritual life ; as one entitled the descendant of Abraham to the privileges of the Mosaic dispensation, so the other entitles all of every coming age, and of every nation, to a participation in the happiness of the Messiah's kingdom. To pursue this simple analogy into many fancied particulars is deviating widely from the example set us by our Lord in his instructions, and derogates from the simplicity and dignity of the truth inculcated." — pp. 25, 26.

In the Third and last, and much the longest Section, he answers the questions, whether regeneration is universally necessary, or not ; whether it supposes and requires, in all cases, a radical entire change of heart ; whether it is in-

staneous ; and whether it be the work of ourselves, or of God. On all these topics he is instructive, and in general satisfactory, and hints are thrown out occasionally of a wider application, which are striking and valuable. Thus, in speaking of the change implied in regeneration, he says :

“ Now it cannot, we should think, fail of having been observed by almost every one, that the cases are not rare, in which, before religion can be said to have dawned in the mind, or to have exerted its genuiue influence upon the character, dispositions are manifested, which, though not, strictly speaking, religious, because not formed under religious culture, are yet amiable and commendable in the sight both of God and men, and are entirely in unison with the dictates and spirit of religion ; and these surely are not to be suppressed by religion, when the individual becomes the subject of it, but rather fostered and strengthened ; they will be more firmly rooted and established, not extirpated, by the newly implanted principle. Such dispositions are like those wild flowers which have sprung up spontaneously in the spot destined to be reduced by the hand of the gardener ; if they are recommended by their beauty and fragrance, they are not only spared, but carefully cherished, to be improved by cultivation, and to have place among those which he collects by transplanting, or rears from the seed.” — p. 35.

Again, in considering the instrumentality by which regeneration is effected, he begins by observing :

“ Before we reply to this inquiry, it may be proper first to make an additional remark on an erroneous idea to which we have just alluded, but which in connexion with the present topic, claims a more particular notice. I mean the idea, somewhat vaguely entertained, that religion is something communicated whole and entire to the soul, existing distinct from the mind. Now it is only necessary to consider the nature of religion, in order to perceive at once the absurdity of this idea. Religion is not a gift of divine grace conferred outright upon man without his seeking it, or using means to obtain it. Religion can no more exist distinct and apart from the mind, than any of its moral qualities, principles, or endowments. Religion, I mean experimental religion, is the mind or heart, enlightened by the truths, governed by the principles, swayed by the motives, exercising the affections, influenced by the hopes, and filled with the spirit of religion ; it is the conscience, the active powers, the whole moral, spiritual nature of the man, directed

by a sense of his accountableness to God, his duty to Christ, his obligations to his fellow-men, and the requisitions of his high, immortal destiny." — pp. 59, 60.

Obviously that change of character which the sacred writers represent under the figure of a regeneration, is wholly a moral change, and in no respects, either in its causes or effects, a physical change. It did not, even among the first Christians, presuppose or produce any alteration in their original capacities or susceptibilities of knowledge or holiness, but only a further developement of their original capacities and susceptibilities. They were new men morally and spiritually, but not physically ; in other words, regeneration had no reference to any change of their nature, or to the necessity of such a change.

The early believers, prior to conversion and regeneration, were not only not Christians, but many of them were addicted to other religions of a most corrupting and debasing tendency. They were not only not Christians, but most of them, and some of the best of them were, like Saul, bitterly, actively, and openly opposed to Christianity. Obviously, therefore, the moral change, in its whole extent, through which such persons had to pass, was different and greater than that expected in those, who have been trained up from childhood in some understanding of, and some respect for the Bible, and all Christian institutions. But it does not follow that the animating, the vivifying principle of the change, the being alive to a new set of motives and influences, differs essentially in the two cases ; and this is what we understand by the figure of regeneration considered as contradistinguished from the process of sanctification, or Christian improvement.

There is, as it seems to us, an obvious distinction between merely knowing, respecting, and assenting to the all important truths unfolded in the gospel, and feeling their reality ; but it is on this feeling of their reality that all proper regeneration must depend. When a man at the present day, who has been brought up in a Christian community, and has enjoyed perhaps the advantages of a Christian education, comes at length to be impressed with a sense of the reality of his relations to God, eternity, and the spiritual world, and from the impulse thence derived begins in good earnest the formation of the Christian character, we say he is regenerated.

We greatly err, however, if we suppose that regeneration, thus explained implies a change in our purposes or dispositions, which we can do nothing to bring about or hasten. We do not make, it is true, our moral and religious capacities and susceptibilities; nor the exciting and quickening influences and motives which are brought to light in the gospel, and which are necessary to the full developement of our moral and religious capacities and susceptibilities. These are from God. But it remains for us to take ourselves with the moral and religious capacities and susceptibilities which God has given us, and subject ourselves to the exciting and quickening influences and motives which God has provided and set before us; and regeneration will follow as certainly as the result of any other of the established laws of our moral being.

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ART. XII. — *A Memoir of Miss HANNAH ADAMS, written by HERSELF. With Additional Notices by a Friend* Boston. Gray & Bowen. 1832. 12mo. pp. 110.

THE above is the title of an unpretending little work, which is designed to perpetuate the memory of a very unpretending but most worthy lady. The autobiography occupies about forty pages of the book, the remainder of which is filled with the "Additional Notices, by a Friend."

The autobiography bears marks of that trembling diffidence and delicate sensibility which were Miss Adams's peculiarities. It was called forth only by the hope that it might furnish the means of support to her surviving sister. It consists of the leading events of her life, stated with great brevity, of short notices of the preparation and publication of her works, and of warm expressions of gratitude towards her benefactors, whom she evidently speaks of with far greater pleasure than of herself.

She was born in Medfield, Massachusetts, in the year 1775, as would appear from the "Obituary," which is included among the "Additional Notices." She has inserted in her "Memoir" so few dates, that we cannot definitely fix the period of many of the incidents which she relates. For some years



during her childhood, her father was in affluent circumstances ; and as he was a lover of literature, though a farmer and country tradesman, Hannah was educated very tenderly and in the midst of books. Her constitution was delicate, of the nervo-sanguineous kind, and extremely excitable, insomuch that her father could not send her to school with the village children, nor could she enter with any degree of pleasure into the common sports of childhood. This feebleness of health and sensitiveness of feeling, which were both of them injurious to her in after-life, were, no doubt, increased by the delicateness of her physical education, and her early habits of novel-reading. The former she never recovered from ; the latter was corrected only by a powerful effort of her naturally energetic mind. Through life, we are told, she regretted that works of fiction should have employed so much of her time in childhood, attributing to them an unhealthy tone of mind and false notions of the world, which unfitted her for real life. Such complaints must always follow a habit of indiscriminate novel-reading, though in few cases is escape so easily made from its pernicious effects.

But her thirst for knowledge would not allow her to stop at the perusal of romances. She was a lover of poetry ; and in reading her favorite poets she opened a fountain of pleasure in her heart which lasted through life, — an admiration of the grand and beautiful in nature, which nature ever rewards with delight. She extended her reading to biography and history with untiring patience, and with a zeal which furnished her mind with treasures against the day of adversity.

The death of her mother, when Hannah was ten years old, and the failure of her father in business, reduced her to extreme distress both mental and bodily, and no doubt gave a melancholy coloring to her temperament. After the bankruptcy of Mr. Adams he resorted to the expedient of taking boarders in order to support himself. His books were still in his possession, and by means of them, and of the kindness of some of the boarders, Hannah became acquainted with the Greek and Latin languages, so that she prepared several young gentlemen for College.

At the age of twenty, her attention was accidentally drawn to the subject of religious controversy, a kind of reading, the benefits of which are often overbalanced by its evil ef-

fects, and which, in her case, was productive of results disastrous to her health, and mental peace for a while ; although she afterwards regained her tranquillity, and as the fruit of her toils produced her work entitled "A View of Religions." This book was published in 1784, by a printer whose unfair dealings Miss Adams has barely alluded to, and whose name her tenderness for his descendants has prevented her from mentioning.

Her health was greatly injured by the industry with which she had labored on her book, by her disappointment at not reaping pecuniary profit from its publication, and by the loss of her elder sister, on whom she had leaned for that support which it is, in the usual course of nature, the part of the mother to bestow. She has commemorated that sister in the following lines :

"The first attachment of my earliest years,  
Ere yet I knew to feel the attractive force  
Of sacred friendship, was my love to her.  
Our minds expanding, each succeeding year  
Heightened our mutual friendship. Not a joy  
E'er touched my soul, but when she shared a part.  
When pierced with sorrow, her all-cheering smile  
Could give me comfort. Well she knew to bear  
Life's adverse scenes with calm, undaunted mind,  
And placid resignation. Grace divine  
Illumed her soul, and stamped its features there.

\* \* \* \* \*

The best of friends ! Oh, how my bleeding heart  
Recalls her tender love ! Of self unmindful,  
For me she seemed to live ; for ever kind,  
For ever studious to promote my good.  
'She was my guide, my friend, my earthly all ;'  
Heaven's choicest blessing. Not a single thought  
Could lurk in close disguise. I knew to trust  
This much loved sister with my inmost soul.

And must I lose her ! While unkind disease  
Threatened a life so dear, my trembling heart  
Sunk in o'erwhelming woe. Could prayers, or tears,  
Could sleepless nights, or agonizing days,  
And all the care of fond officious love  
Avert thy fate, — sister, thou still hadst lived."

Such reliance had she placed upon this sister that she could not endure the idea of being obliged to walk through life without her aid. But God, who tempereth the wind to the shorn lamb, so prepared her for the dreaded event, that when it came it did not prostrate her as she had feared. It was still a trial of great severity.

Miss Adams herself, speaking afterwards of the numerous cares which at that time bore down upon her, confessed that they were of beneficial effect, in exciting her to an energy of action that ordinary circumstances would never have elicited. By her efforts she procured from Congress the act of copy-right, prepared a second edition of her "*View of Religions*" for the press, and brought it out, in 1791, with considerable pecuniary profit. We scarcely need remark that she now employed another printer of more integrity than the one who had formerly defrauded her. She mentions with warm expressions of gratitude the kind assistance of the Rev. Dr. Freeman, who on this occasion lent her his knowledge and experience in negotiating with her printer.

Encouraged by the success of her book, she now determined on publishing another work, and forthwith commenced her "*History of New England*." In the selection of a subject she deviated widely from her prevailing habits of thought, which were highly imaginative; but followed the dictates of her judgment, which told her that it was necessary to avoid topics of an exciting tendency.

Notwithstanding the dryness of an historical subject, and the almost absolute dearth of materials for her work, she engaged in it with great ardor, visiting, where it was necessary, the archives of the different states and examining the early records. Surely there must have been a wonderful amount of energy woven into her character, that in defiance of physical weakness, injudicious education, the shrinking sensibility of her sex, and the barrenness of materials, she could resolve so firmly, and act so boldly and perseveringly. Her industry in searching out the "hidden mysteries" of mutilated manuscripts was nearly fatal to her eyes, causing the almost total loss of her sight for more than two years. Of course her book was delayed, and she was presented with the disheartening prospect of permanent poverty and blindness. Medical aid, however, restored her sight at last; and,

as she had not been idle even in her disabled condition, her "History" appeared in the year 1799. Its publication, in a pecuniary point of view, was unprofitable to her. She even lost money by it; and yet at this time it was the only history of New England.

The third edition of her "View of Religions," which had been increased by the addition of a hundred pages, soon after appeared; and again by Dr. Freeman's assistance she succeeded in relieving her pecuniary difficulties by the profits of her work. But this success was followed by reverses in her two next works, namely, the "View of the Christian Religion," and "An Abridgment of the History of New England." The sale of the latter book was injured by a contemporaneous publication of a similar character, which came before the public under circumstances that brought into question the fairness of a distinguished literary man of that day. The difficulties between Miss Adams and Dr. Morse are not yet forgotten, though she has scarcely alluded to them in her "Memoir." Her kindness of heart is manifest in this most charitable silence; and we hesitate where to fix the greatest admiration, on her forbearance as manifested in her book, or on that indomitable courage which sustained her under so many discouragements.

Her day of gloom was however now about to break into light and sunshine, and the mild but firm spirit which had endured so long and so patiently was soon to enjoy the pleasures of success and distinction.

Her reputation had extended through her own land, and was known abroad, so that when she commenced her "History of the Jews," she engaged in correspondence with more than one distinguished foreigner. She had occasion at this time, also, to visit Boston, where a pension was settled on her by several gentlemen of benevolent and public spirit. Among them was William Smith Shaw, Esq., whose name is here particularly mentioned for the sake of preventing a mistake into which the readers of the "Memoir" might be led. Miss Adams speaks of him as William Shaw, Esq. It was William S. Shaw, Esq. whose agency in the establishment of the Athenæum is well known, and who was private secretary to the elder President Adams, and not William Shaw, Esq., whose death had before this time placed him beyond the exercise of charity on earth.

Miss Adams now received the freedom of the Athenæum, and, surrounded by its numerous volumes, revelled in the delights of literature. She also became acquainted with Mr. Buckminster, whose kindness to her is recorded with a warmth that will come home to the hearts of many to whom his memory is endeared. From this time forward her life was one of comparative enjoyment, and we delight to remember that the old age of one who had suffered so much, and who had achieved so much for herself and her country, was the brightest portion of her life; that the garland of fame descended on her brow before that brow was cold in death; that the warm sunshine of universal regard illuminated her descent into the grave; and that when she closed her eyes on this world, it was not in the eager desire to escape from its miseries, but in the calm assurance of a blessed immortality.

Miss Adams examined the Scriptures seriously, dispassionately, and with great care, in order to make up her mind, on that authority, respecting the person of Christ; and of the conclusions at which she arrived she thus speaks in the closing paragraph of the autobiography:

"After removing to Boston, and residing in that city while the disputes upon Unitarian sentiments were warmly agitated, I read all that came in my way upon both sides of the question; and carefully examined the New Testament, with, I think, a sincere and ardent desire to know the truth. I deeply felt the difficulties upon both sides of the question; yet prevalently give the preference to that class of Unitarians, who adopt the highest idea of the greatness and dignity of the Son of God." — p. 43.

Of her habitually serious and religious cast of mind, the following resolutions, found among her papers, are a sufficient proof.

"SERIOUS RESOLUTIONS.

"I resolve to read the Bible more attentively and diligently, and to be constant and fervent in prayer for divine illumination and direction.

"2d. To read less from curiosity and a desire to acquire worldly knowledge, and more for the regulation of my heart and life; consequently, to have my reading less desultory, and to read more books of practical divinity.

"3d. In choosing my friends and companions, to have a

greater regard to religious character than I have hitherto had.

"4th. To avoid such company as has a tendency to unsettle my mind respecting religious opinions.

"5th. To endeavour to preserve a firm reliance on Divine Providence, and to avoid all unreasonable worldly care and anxiety.

"6th. To pray and guard against loving my friends with that ardent attachment, and that implicit reliance upon them, which is incompatible with supreme love to, and trust in, God alone.

"7th. To endeavour to attain a spirit of forgiveness towards my enemies, and to banish from my mind all those feelings of resentment, which are incompatible with the spirit of the gospel." pp. 72, 73.

We copy the account given in the "Additional Notices" of her introduction to the late Mr. Buckminster, and of the intercourse to which it led.

"It was on a visit to Boston, that Miss Adams first saw Mr. Buckminster. He was then at college, and about sixteen years old. Those who knew him will not think her description of him an exaggerated one. 'He had then,' she said, 'the bloom of health on his cheek, and the fire of genius in his eye. I did not know from which world he came, whether from heaven or earth.' Though so young, he entered fully into her character; and before they parted, he gave her a short, but comprehensive sketch of the state of literature in France and Germany. After he became the Pastor of Brattle-Street Church, he, with Mr. Higginson, and Mr. Shaw, the active founder of the Athenæum, proposed to Miss Adams, who, from an enfeebled constitution, had begun to grow infirm, to remove to Boston; at the same time procuring for her, through the liberal subscription of a few gentlemen, an annuity for life. She had then commenced her 'History of the Jews'; and nothing could have been more favorable to its progress, or to her own ease of mind, than this benevolent arrangement. She could never speak of her benefactors without deep emotion.

"From the Rev. Mr. Buckminster she received the most judicious and extensive assistance. She was in the habit of visiting him in his study, and had his permission to come when she pleased, to sit and read there as long as she pleased, or take any book home and use it like her own. Perhaps people are never perfectly easy with each other, till they feel at liberty to be silent in each other's society. It was stipulated between them, that neither party should be obliged to talk. But her

own language will best describe her feelings. 'Mr. Buckminster would sometimes read for hours without speaking. But, occasionally, flashes of genius would break forth in some short observation, or sudden remark, which electrified me. I never could have gone on with my "History," without the use of his library. I was indebted to him for a new interest in life. He introduced me to a valuable circle of friends; and it was through him that I became acquainted with Mrs. Dearborn, whose kindness and attention to me have been unceasing. His character was the perfection of humanity. His intellectual powers were highly cultivated and ennobled. Yet even the astonishing vigor and brightness of his intellect were outdone by the goodness of his heart.

'No thought within his generous mind had birth,  
But what he might have owned to heaven and earth.'

— pp. 75. — 77.

Her correspondents were numerous, and of the highest respectability, among whom particular mention is made of the elder President Adams, Bishop Grégoire, Mr. Cunningham, author of "The World without Souls," Miss Hannah More, and Mrs. Catharine Cappe.

It is often said that the fate of genius is usually cruel. But the assertion is not well founded, and in the life of Miss Adams we have a fair exhibition of the real cause of those sufferings which so often accompany talent. While the imagination predominates over the other faculties, we are unfitted for judicious effort, and rendered doubly susceptible of misery. This is an unhealthy mental state, and is often called genius. Let the judgment be summoned to its duty and be made the ruling mental power, and the path of life at once becomes less rugged, and we ourselves are better armed for conflict with its evils.

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THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

N<sup>o</sup>. LIII.

NEW SERIES — N<sup>o</sup>. XXIII.

NOVEMBER, 1832.

ART. I. — *Le Visiteur du Pauvre*, par M. DEGERANDO, Membre de l'Institut de France. Ouvrage couronné en 1820, par l'Académie de Lyon, et en 1821, par l'Académie Française, qui lui a décerné le Prix fondé par M. de Montyon pour l'Ouvrage le plus utile aux Mœurs. Troisième édition revue et augmentée. A Paris, chez Jules Renouard. 1826. 2 vol. 8vo.

*The Visitor of the Poor*; translated from the French of the BARON DEGERANDO, by a LADY OF BOSTON. *With an Introduction* by JOSEPH TUCKERMAN. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, Little, & Wilkins. 1832. 12mo. pp. 211.

WE earnestly commend this book to the attention of our readers. It brings into distinct view a very important class of our social relations, and the duties thence resulting, which it is the tendency of all our sordid and selfish pursuits to set aside. Its object is well described in the following extract from the "Introduction" by the Rev. Dr. Tuckerman, whose delightful province and privilege it is to be emphatically a "Visitor of the Poor" of our city, and who is, on all accounts, entitled to speak with authority on this subject.

"Its design is to awaken, and give excitement to a sense of human relations, wherever sensibility on this great subject is sluggish and inactive; and wisely direct it, where it is either wasting its power in comparatively useless efforts, or is perhaps occasioning evil by the very means by which it intends, and hopes for good. For this end, it proposes to make the great classes of the rich and the poor, of the strong and the



feeble, of the wise and the unwise, and of the virtuous and the vicious known to each other. It proposes to bring these classes together, not by confounding the distinctions between them, but by making the virtuous, and wise, and strong, and prospered feel, that by communicating of what they have received, and by acting as the instruments of God's goodness towards those from whom he has made them to differ, they are at once accomplishing the purposes for which he instituted the diversities which we see of human condition; and are most effectually promoting their own, by advancing the virtue and happiness of others." pp. iv, v.

How well this benevolent and truly Christian design is accomplished can only be known from an intimate acquaintance with the book itself. It is a translation of such parts of the French work named at the head of this article, as were considered most applicable to our state of society, and is altogether the best manual in the great duty and art of active charity, in the English language, with which we are acquainted. Few can read it in the spirit in which it ought to be read, without gaining more clear and just and comprehensive views of the differences of condition in human life; of our relative duties, and especially of the claims of the poor; of the marks and evidences of real poverty; of the different classes of the indigent; of the nature and comparative urgency of their wants; of the virtues and infirmities which are peculiar to them; of the duty and methods of improving their moral condition; of the claims of their children upon public and private benevolence; of the best methods of meeting the demands of an enlightened charity; of a wise and efficient distribution of alms; and, in a word, of all those circumstances, taking the term in its widest sense, which are necessary to guide benevolent exertion to the best results, and prevent it from becoming, as is too often the case, a bounty upon improvidence and vice. Nor is this all. None, we think, certainly none who feels his religious responsibility, as he ought to feel it, can come away from a thoughtful perusal of this little volume, without feeling, with new impression, the obligations which rest upon him, be he who he may, to become himself, in his own person, a "Visitor of the Poor." He cannot but perceive that there is a vast amount of good to be done, and of good to be received, which can be done and had upon no other terms, and which, in consequence, he may not innocently forego.

This treatise, we repeat it, is eminently practical. It deals with life and with the relations of life just as they are ; and the conviction is strong upon our minds, as we read, that we are holding communion with a highly intelligent, accomplished, and benevolent man, whose heart is full of his theme, "who is quick to learn, and wise to know," and who is giving us the results of his own experience on a subject on which he has bestowed a long and close attention. There is apparent, throughout, a minuteness of observation, a particularity of remark, an accurate discrimination, a minute knowledge of the subject, a clear perception of the bearings and the consequences of actions, which could only have been gained from a personal intercourse with the poor, and which would entitle the volume to a high place in the estimation of the student of human nature, if this claim were not merged in the transcendently higher claims which entitle it to the regard of the Christian philanthropist.

For the proof of all this, we must refer, as we have said, to the book itself. It is too various in its topics, and, at the same time, too minute in its details, to admit of any extracts which would give a tolerably just idea of the whole.

But we would gladly coöperate in the excellent design of the volume, by devoting a few of our pages to some remarks on certain principles of the great duty of active benevolence, which are of primary importance in themselves, but to which no peculiar prominence could be given in a treatise intended for practical purposes.

The great duty of an active and efficient charity is suggested, indeed is created, by the inequalities or differences in our social condition, viewed in connexion with the fact, that we are all constituted, by a common Father, members of a common family, and all made mutually dependent one upon another. The duty can be understood and felt in its full significance, only by a deep and intimate persuasion of these leading truths. And on this account, as well as on account of the fact that prevailing views and practices, and much of the intercourse of social life, conspire to keep them out of view, we shall offer some remarks in illustration of them. We proceed, then, to inquire, first, What is a philosophical, or rather, for this is the question we are most concerned to determine, what is a truly religious view of the *inequalities of life* ?

An important question is suggested at the outset of this inquiry. It is, What is the origin of the inequalities in human condition? The querulous and dissatisfied man, whose views extend not beyond the little circle of his own selfish desires, ascribes them to a capricious distribution of good and evil of which he knows nothing more than that his own real or fancied claims are postponed or forgotten. Others see in them, as Degerando remarks, "the work of a blind chance which scatters its favors, and dispenses its sufferings, without any discrimination." And "there are men also, even calling themselves philosophers, who, from these inequalities, deduce the inference, that there is no Providence." But what, in point of fact, is the real origin of these inequalities?

We reply, that they are the express appointment of God, and are to be ascribed directly to Him, and to Him alone. When He gave to men social natures, He thereby ordained that they should live together in society; and when He gave to some *capacities and powers superior to the rest*, He thereby ordained that differences should exist in their social condition. It is immaterial to our present purpose to define these powers and capacities. It is enough that they exist, and that they exist by the appointment of Providence. That they do thus exist is as plain as that men differ in stature, form, and face. In a rude age, bodily strength, skill in procuring the means of subsistence, subtlety, and prowess in warlike adventure, confer superiority. In more advanced stages of society, wealth, rank, and, especially, mental resources and accomplishments, distinguish one man from another. Perhaps all these may be resolved into one, which applies to all conditions of human life, and this is the power which any individual possesses of influencing the minds of others. Talent, as a general rule certainly, talent will make itself felt. It is a power to which mortals bow, whether they choose or not. And if it be united with high moral qualities, it exercises an influence which nothing else can. It is mind operating upon mind, and mind, throughout the universe of God, from its humblest to its highest grade, is the controlling power of all. The whole history of the human race sustains this proposition. In every age and clime, wherever men exist in the social state, these differences, thus arising, are found.

Even in those countries which have not yet risen from a state of barbarism, countries insulated and cut off from any considerable communication with others, where the commonest arts of civilized life are unknown, there are yet to be found the strong and the weak, the ruler and the subject, the poor and the rich, the foolish and the wise. As society advances, and the relations of life become multiplied, these distinctions are more fully developed and more variously combined. In a word, the sun, in his circuit, shines not on an inhabited place where these differences do not prevail; and that they are thus universal can only be accounted for on the supposition that they are rendered necessary by the common nature which God has given.

There are, in the next place, circumstances in the *condition* of men, taken in connexion with the inherent principles of their constitution, which lead to the same result. We refer to the fact which has been very elaborately illustrated by a great political economist of our times. The number of inhabitants in every country continually increases in a much greater degree than the means of subsistence. This disparity does and will go on, and become wider and wider until the means of subsistence are difficult or impossible to be obtained. We, indeed, who live in a land rich in its returns to the hand of industry, and one which reaches, from its eastern to its western limits, through a sixth part of the circumference of the globe, see no practical illustration of this truth, and centuries may pass before we shall. But there are examples enough of the fact, and those, too, of a deeply painful interest, in other communities less favorably situated than we. Our northern borders are, at this moment, thronged with those who are fleeing from famine at home. Indeed almost all countries of the old world are groaning under the burden of an excessive population; and the scantiness of food, and poverty, and sickness which kills its thousands, and sin which kills its tens of thousands, and pestilence, and war, and all the other scourges of the human race, are not sufficient to keep down the continually increasing evil. This fact sufficiently accounts for that inequality in the distribution of wealth (which may be considered as the representative of all other value), that is always found to exist. The amount to be gained is limited. The number

of competitors for it is always enlarging.\* The difficulty of acquisition keeps pace with this increase of numbers. Beside this, it is of the very nature of property, as of every other gift and endowment, to multiply itself, and in a continually increasing ratio. These difficulties will be overcome, certainly in a great measure, according to the capacities of men; and since these capacities, as was stated before, differ with every individual, some must gain more, and some less; that is, some must be poor and some rich. There never was, then, there is not, and there never will or can be, a community of men, while human nature and the present course of things remain unchanged, the individuals of which are equal in point of property, or equal, in consequence, in the possession of those advantages which property confers. There are no Agrarian laws in the Providence of God. All attempts to establish such among men, are unnatural, forced, and will inevitably prove unavailing. The attempt, we may observe in passing, which has lately been made in this country, under peculiarly favorable circumstances, to establish a community or equality of property, has already shown itself to be one of the most futile schemes of this very enterprising age.

There is another consideration to which we shall briefly advert, by which it is made manifest that differences in the external condition of men are necessary, that is, of the appointment of God. It is, that they are absolutely *essential to the very existence of society*. Without them, it is obvious there could be no subordination, and if no subordination, no government. Each, if these did not exist, would claim for himself the full indulgence of his own caprices and desires, and would trample, as he might, upon all the interfering

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\* Whatever may be thought of this theory viewed as pointing out the sole or principal source of pauperism, it is, we apprehend, sufficiently well grounded to indicate one of the sources of the inequality of property, as is represented in the text. But while we admit the truth of it, in any degree, we must enter our solemn protest against the use which has been made of it by Malthus and his followers to discountenance poor laws, and public provision for the indigent and wretched. We would say with Degerando, "that consequences so revolting to the feelings of humanity, might have warned him, by that fact alone, that he had made some capital mistake in the principles from which he set out."

claims of others. This must necessarily lead to resistance, to contention, to bloodshed; and universal anarchy, that worst of all oppressions, would be the consequence. This, we scarcely need say, is not mere theory. The experiment has been repeatedly tried, and always with the same results. It was made in ancient times. The history of it fills up more dark and bloody pages in the annals of that people who claimed to be the masters of the globe, than almost any other absurdity to which the world has resorted in its attempts to be wiser than Divine Providence. Nor are later times uninstructed on this subject. A generation has scarcely passed away since the same effort of establishing a perfect equality was made in a foreign land. How dreadful the spasm and agony was which pervaded all the relations of social life, and how disastrous in its consequences, are sufficiently known. The only escape from these evils is to be found in a government of laws, wherein all the inequalities of human condition shall be recognised and respected; a government, by which the weak shall be made strong by union against the oppressions of the more powerful, the powerful made to feel their dependence upon the coöperation of the weak, the parts fortified by the adhesion of the whole, and the whole animated and put into harmonious action by the cordial coöperation of the parts; in fine, "where all must unite to guard what each desires to gain." Now this government, which is thus essential to the very existence of society, involves those very differences of condition which are now under remark. Without them, no government could subsist a day. And if the social state be that in which God intended men should live, these differences, which are thus necessary to the very existence of society, must also be considered as of Divine appointment.

And to these sources of the inequalities of life, which thus make a constituent part of the moral government under which we are placed, are to be added those events which are commonly called *fortuitous* or *accidental*. This is a heathenish use of language, which indicates much narrowness or confusion of thought; and which means, if it mean any thing, those facts or circumstances which are not reducible to the known laws or sequences of events, which are as plainly apparent in the moral as in the physical world. *Accident*, *fortune*, *chance*, in the usual meaning of these terms, have no place in the Christian's vocabulary. He uses them merely to in-

dicare the fact that certain events occur, which, apparently to us, observe no known rule, which baffle all calculation, which put at fault the most mature experience, which render the counsels of wisdom unavailing, and which no human prudence can guard against, and no human power control.\* Accidents of this description are innumerable, strange, and, viewed in reference to this world alone, are irreconcilable with the acknowledged attributes of God. They can only have their solution in that state, where the pledge shall be redeemed, "What I do, thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." But what we would particularly remark with respect to them is, that they serve greatly to diversify human condition. Health seems to us often capriciously bestowed and capriciously withheld. Trifling circumstances appear continually to be deciding the most momentous concerns in the most unexpected manner. Pains-taking labor often toils on through a long life for a scanty pittance, while wealth is scattered into the lap of the careless and the idle by the *accident* of birth, or something even so trivial as the liking or disliking of another, and this produced, no one knows how, by certain contingencies of time, interview, place, hue of thought, tone of feeling, and a multitude of other trifling circumstances, which no one could devise or foresee. To circumstances as trivial, and as independent of our own wills and efforts, are to be ascribed many decisive turns in our own individual fortunes. And sudden deprivations of employment, reverses, disappointments, sickness, mental alienation, in a word, afflictions in all their countless varieties, of which no other account can be given, but that such is the will of God, are common, constant, inevitable causes of disparity in the social condition of men.

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\* See this distinction exceedingly well illustrated in the "Natural History of Enthusiasm," (Sec. vi. 8vo. edit. London). It is worthy of remark, too, that it was revealed to the accurate observation of Juvenal, who had not heard from inspired lips, "that the hairs of our heads are all numbered."

"Nos te  
Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam, cœloque locamus."

*Sat. x. 366.*

"O Fortune, Fortune! all thy boasted powers  
Would shrink to nothing, were but prudence ours:  
But man, fond man, exalts thee to the spheres,  
And clothes thee in the attributes he fears."

*Gifford's Trans.*

From all these causes we infer that the inequalities of life are the appointment of God. They enter essentially into that scheme of His government of which we form a part, and must continue while the present constitution of things remains unaltered. There they are; and it only remains for us to take them as we find them, and employ them for the purposes they were intended to fulfill. All attempts to disprove or destroy their existence, from the lofty visions of Plato, down to the ambitious and reckless paradoxes of the "morbid sophist" Rousseau, and from him down to the more elaborate and practical folly of Robert Owen, only serve to show that these inequalities of life are "real things, that they are not to be explained away or done away."

This leads to the next inquiry which was proposed. What are these purposes? What uses are subserved by these necessary inequalities of life? What advantages do they offer? Above all, what duties do they create?

Without attempting to offer any adequate reply to these inquiries, we may observe, that one important use of the inequalities of life is, that they serve to call our faculties into exertion, and afford them scope and exercise. A single example will sufficiently illustrate this. Suppose, for instance, the impossible thing to take place, that all disparity in point of property should be done away, and that all men should be made to possess, independently of their own exertions, an equal proportion of wealth. It must readily be seen, that one of the strongest motives to vigorous effort, which now operates on the human mind would be destroyed. To say nothing of the want of "rational occupation," which is the "very material of contented existence," where then would be that talent, that skill, that watchfulness, that self-command, that untiring energy, that fruitfulness in resource, in a word, that developement of mind, which the hope of acquiring property now calls forth? Do we not perceive that it is one of the most powerful engines which keeps the moral world in motion and in order? that its influence is felt throughout all the ramifications of society, in all its departments, in all its gradations; and that if it were taken away, the whole machinery of social life would stop? A similar train of remark, it is obvious, is applicable to the distinctions of station, rank, and influence. Remove these, reduce all men to one common level in these respects, and where then would



there be any worthy emulation, honorable ambition, those honest efforts for individual advancement, which now call forth some of the best exertions of the best men, and which, in point of fact perhaps, have done as much as any other cause to promote the public weal. This train of remark were easily extended to other particulars, but we dismiss it with the entire conviction that every just thinker will perceive in these inequalities an admirable provision for calling forth and strengthening our intellectual powers.

But if this were all, it were comparatively little. The differences in our social condition have a directly moral effect of momentous importance. Their tendency is to *improve* as well as to develop the character; to direct our energies to the worthiest objects, as well as to call them forth. In point of fact, our improvement as moral and responsible beings greatly depends on these very diversities. They create new relations among men, each of which is accompanied by reciprocal duties, and each has a tendency to form, or, at least, to modify the character of the individual. Enjoyment and suffering, wealth and poverty, success and misfortune, knowledge and ignorance, power and subjection, freedom and bondage, have each its appropriate sentiments and duties; and each, accordingly, constitutes a part of our moral trial. They are all diversified means of moral improvement. This may be illustrated by supposing any of these differences to be abolished. As a familiar example, take that already adduced. If the distinction of wealth and poverty were abolished, a vast proportion of the opportunities of kindness and usefulness would thereby be destroyed. The power, on the one hand, of doing good to others by acts of encouragement, beneficence, and charity, and of pouring forth upon society a genial influence in a thousand ways, could no longer exist. And, on the other hand, all those sentiments of gratitude, respect, and good will, which beneficent deeds naturally inspire, would slumber for want of being called into exercise. Nor is this reciprocal improvement all that these distinctions of wealth and poverty are intended to promote. Their tendency is also to advance the moral well-being of the individuals. Gratitude to God, a sense of responsibility to Him as the stewards of His bounty, a fear of forgetting the Giver in the fullness, the richness, and uninterrupted flow of His bounties, are the appropriate duties of

the wealthy. While the passive virtues, the virtues of patient suffering, steadfast confidence in God, meek but strong trust in His final goodness even in the darkest hour of His dispensations; these are virtues, virtues the worthiest and most truly sublime, that may be best perfected by poverty and its harsh attendant circumstances.

But we wish to give peculiar prominence to the thought, that it is the especial design of these inequalities thus to call forth and improve the benevolent affections; to bring the different conditions of life into a nearer contact; to form new ties in the great brotherhood of men; and to impose, in consequence, new duties of the most imperative and affecting character. If, indeed, those, who, in the providence of God, are made to differ in *condition*, differed also in their *nature*, then the inequalities of life might be insuperable obstacles to a near communion among the different classes of society, as indeed they are often thought now to be by the superficial and the frivolous and the selfish. Then there would be some reason and some excuse, that those who are in the enjoyment of affluence, and of all the advantages which affluence brings, should look down upon the poor and wretched as a different and lower class of beings than themselves. Then they might content themselves with coolly philosophizing on the nature of these differences; and regard them practically no further than they are susceptible of being converted to a merely selfish use. But this is obviously not the case. Nature, reason, all the inborn and irrepressible instincts of the soul, all our experience of life proclaim that it is not. They all concur in reasserting that leading, comprehensive truth of our religion, that "we are all members one of another, that the rich and poor meet together, and that the Lord is the maker of them all."

Let us linger a little on this delightful aspect of human nature, and bring into distinct view some of those ties, often unseen and unsuspected, by which we are bound together in a close and indissoluble connexion.

We perceive them in all the *powers and faculties of our minds*. These, for the most part, would be useless, or, at least, unused, in a state of solitude. All the wants of the individual, in an isolated condition, are few in number, easily satisfied, and require no range of thought. Almost all that employs our minds, our plans of business, our inventions,

our learning, our research, and frequently even our private meditations, have reference to others, and it is in society alone that they can have adequate objects and full exercise. This is obviously true of the common labors and arts of life, and it is no less true of the higher and more liberal professions. If the labors of the studious and contemplative rest in mere study and contemplation; if they do not tend, either directly or indirectly to improve or embellish society at large; if they do not result in some good intended or done to others; they are justly considered idle, dreamy, or barren.

But we are still more closely constituted "members one of another" by the *desires, affections, sentiments, and sympathies* of our common nature. These are the basis of all the more intimate relations. They first spring from the heart, as from a common centre, and then they radiate through the continually enlarging circle of home, friends, neighbourhood, community, and country, until, at last, they embrace the whole family of man. They are confined to no prescribed limits; they are bounded by no arbitrary lines; they are restricted to no class of men. And as that invisible and marvellous power which pervades the material world, keeps equally in its place the mote in the sun-beam and the farthest star; so this wonderful principle of human sympathy, pervading all hearts, extending to all forms of rational existence, binds the moral world into one harmonious whole; and though modified and controlled by circumstances, yet sustains, upholds, connects, and governs all the conflicting elements of the human character, all the jarring interests of social life. Laws and civil regulations are necessary, indeed, to define the rights of equals, and to limit the aggressions of the stronger; but there is something deeper than these, which gives strength and solidity to the social compact. It is the inherent want in human bosoms of loving and being loved, which man feels towards man, neighbour towards neighbour, friend towards friend; it is the strong yearning of parental affection; it is filial regard and honor; it is fraternal and sisterly tenderness; it is the pure and thrice-blessed bond of mutual love; it is the unspoken covenant of soul with soul; it is that inborn, deep-seated, indestructible, undecaying principle of mutual sympathy; in a word, it is that *Code of the Heart*, which was written by none other than the finger of God himself, which is the real, the ultimate bond of so-

ciety. It is that which binds men together more strongly than expediency or any outward necessity ; more strongly than oaths, compacts, covenants ; more strongly than the natural barriers of mountains, deserts, rivers, and rock-bound shores ; and without it, the vast fabric of society, with all its manifold aspects and relations, and with all the blessings it implies and confers, could not subsist a day.

And this great truth, yet further, is clearly to be recognised in the *relations* we are made to bear one to another. We are all the children of one common Father, and of one common family. We are all travellers on the same pilgrimage, we are moved by the same impulses, we are governed by the same general laws, we aspire to the same objects, we look onwards to the same home. We are subjected to the same toils, to the same cares, to the same difficulties, to the same sorrows. We are sharers of the same common blessings and privileges, we are exposed to the same dangers, and protected by the same Guardian Providence. We are the subjects of the same Moral Governor, disciples of the same Master, partakers of the same gracious promises, and heirs of the same blessed hope. We are fellow-sinners, and we would be fellow-saints.

But there is one other consideration by which the intimate alliance of each with all, and all with each, is brought into a yet more clear and affecting point of view. It is our *mutual wants*. We are all made to be dependent one upon another. None are exempted from this common bond. The low are as necessary to the high, as the high to the low. He who marches at the head of armies, derives his place and his power from the undistinguished million who follow in his steps. He plans but they must execute. The laurel he wins and wears must be nurtured by their blood. The throne rests upon the shoulders of those who crouch down beneath it, and if they retire, it falls. That voice which "commands the listening senate," might never have been heard, but for the vulgar hosannahs of the mob at home. And pride of wealth, that poorest and most miserable and meanest of all the forms of human pride, never appears more unworthy and abject, than when viewed in reference to those whom, in the fullness of its self-sufficiency, it affects to despise. Are not the poor as important to the rich, as the rich are to the poor ? Who watches while the rich

man sleeps? Who guards that very property on which he relies for his fancied independence? Who waits while he feasts? Who stands at his bed-side through the slow-paced hours of the night when he is sick? Who braves the elements to do his pleasure, and to cater for his pampered tastes? Who bares his breast to the enemy while he is sheltered in the bosom of his family? Who but the poor and dependent do and suffer all these things? And is not a humble, devoted faithfulness in all these kind and necessary offices, a benefit conferred as valuable as the pittance which is received in return? nay, are they not benefits which mere wealth cannot purchase, and mere wealth cannot pay for? And shall the rich and the powerful think that they are exclusive benefactors, because they give a portion of that wealth which they do not need, and cannot use for any personal indulgence, to the poor and to the dependent, who give, in their turn, their time, their labor, their cares, their comforts, in one word, themselves? What more striking example and proof of entire dependence can there be, than that of a man, who, born to wealth, and having had all his wants cared for and anticipated by others, is by some sudden calamity deprived of all these adventitious supports. He now feels how much he owed to those whom formerly he may have considered the objects of his patronizing bounty, or of his caprice and spleen. He now finds, that in a busy world there is no place left vacant for him; in an advancing world he is soon left behind; and that from want of early discipline, and that moral energy which difficulties alone can call forth and mature, he is unprotected and helpless. He now perceives what the glare of an accidental prosperity prevented him from seeing before, how impotent and dependent a being he really is. Such is the comprehensive meaning of that saying, "The rich and poor meet together, and the Lord is the maker of them all."

What is thus true of wealth, is true of every other earthly good. God has given to none any blessing with reference to himself alone, but has imparted it on the condition that it shall be shared with others. He has made human society one vast exchange, wherein mutual benefits are the circulating medium. And he, therefore, who attempts to engross for his own selfish use any part of the common property of all, does thereby contravene one of the plainest and most im-

perative laws which is written on the human soul, and which is continually illustrated and taught in all the transactions of human life. It is as true, as it is beautifully expressed,—

“God, as he framed the whole, the whole to bless,  
On mutual wants, built mutual happiness.  
All served, all serving ; no one stands alone ;  
The chain holds on, and where it ends, unknown.”

From these two considerations, first, that the inequalities of life are of the appointment of God ; and, secondly, that we are made by Him members one of another, and therefore mutually dependent, results the great duty of an active charity. We have dwelt upon them at the hazard of committing the sins of tediousness and common-place, because this duty can never, as we have said, be felt in its whole depth and reach without an intimate conviction of their truth ; and because prevailing opinions and habits are not friendly to their legitimate influence. It is but too common to consider the claims of an active and efficient benevolence as duties of imperfect obligation, as offices which it is well and commendable to perform, but not very sinful to omit ; as works rather of uncommanded virtue, the performance of which is regarded with peculiar satisfaction, than of imperative and absolute obligation. But no one who considers the inequalities of life in connexion with those ties which bind man to man, and remembers that neither are artificial or accidental, but both are the appointment of Almighty God, can resist the conclusion that he is bound to the performance of the duties of an active benevolence by a bond which he can neither avoid nor break ; that they are laid deep in the nature, deep in the condition of man ; that they are woven into the texture of society ; that he can no more disavow them, than he can cast off his own identity ; that he can no more escape from them, than he can flee from the atmosphere he breathes. He may neglect them, shrink from them, outrage them, as he may any other obligations ; but in the same degree that he does so, he makes himself an alien from his fellow-men, he becomes an outlaw from the social compact, he casts off his allegiance to his God.

We scarcely need add, that a duty, thus established in the nature of things, is recognised and enforced in the reli-

gion of the Gospel. He who came on a message of love to man, has made the poor his representatives on earth, and the exhibition of an active benevolence to them, the measure of our love to him. We say an *active* benevolence, and we wish to lay a peculiar stress on the term; that is, a benevolence which does not content itself with merely giving alms, or rendering, without any personal effort, acts of kindness, but a benevolence which, like that of our blessed Master, is manifested by "going about doing good," by a personal intercourse with the poor. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." Done what? It is giving meat to the hungry; drink to the thirsty; shelter to the stranger; clothes to the naked; visits to the sick and to the prisoner; in one word, personal acts of kindness. It is not an indolent gift of alms which may or may not reach the sufferer, and one, which if it do, may do more injury than good. It is not employing others, any further than this is absolutely necessary, to do these deeds for us; but it is going ourselves, to the extent of our ability, all other claims duly considered, in our own proper persons, to the abodes of wretchedness, looking with our own eyes into the circumstances of the sufferer, and ministering with our own hands to his necessities. Nothing short of this will meet the requisitions of the Gospel rule. It is, further, an essential condition of discipleship. In vain shall we bring to our God our religious homage; in vain shall we keep holy time; in vain pour forth our oblations; in vain sit down in sackcloth and in ashes; in vain load the air with sighs of penitence; in vain multiply the articles of our belief; in vain compass sea and land to make a proselyte; in vain build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous; all this is vain, if we do not cultivate the kind and generous affections, check every narrow movement of selfishness, and do all the good in our power to all within the limits of our beneficence.

But we argue this question on what seems to us its least attractive and persuasive form, when we speak of duty merely. The office of active benevolence, doing good, is to be ranked among our highest privileges. It is only next less than that of being good. We apprehend that this view of the subject is not sufficiently recognised. It is common to consider acts of charity, almost exclusively, as benefits conferred,

when, in truth, it is scarcely a paradox to say that they are benefits received. They have a reflex operation on the individual who confers them, even more valuable than the benefit awarded, be this what it may. A man is a higher and a better being than he was before for every kind thought towards a fellow-man; and every beneficial act, before it goes forth on its welcome and gracious errand, bestows a blessing on the heart which gave it birth. We must be permitted to offer a brief illustration of this.

It is, in the first place, only by means of an active benevolence, that a *character* of benevolence can be formed. That this is not an entirely identical proposition, will appear from considering that it is a very important law of our nature, not enough perhaps regarded even by those who make self-improvement their leading aim, and one especially worthy of the attention of sentimentalists in charity and in all things else, that every emotion, good or bad, is strengthened by the outward expression of it; while the indulgence of any mere feeling, which is inoperative, that is, which is not carried into action, tends to deaden and destroy the very capacity of exertion. Thus every act of benevolence, springing from a benevolent feeling, serves to enlarge and fix the sentiment of benevolence. Every repetition of the act, moreover, tends to form a habit; and it is habits, thus formed, which constitute the character. Every emotion and every act, yet further, is associated with kindred emotions and acts, so that the prevalence of any one is an introduction to others of a similar character. It is thus that a habit or character of benevolence is formed, if formed at all; and it is thus, that, when formed, it tends continually more and more to reproduce and multiply itself, in the same degree as it enlarges its sphere of beneficent exertion.

And it is equally true, on the other hand, that the indulgence of any mere emotions, if they be not carried into effect, has a direct tendency to weaken and destroy all the active powers. This is universally true. All excitements of sympathy, which do not lead to their appropriate expression in conduct and life, tend to weaken our active powers and to enervate the character. Hence the palpable inefficiency of those who give themselves up to the passive excitements of novel-reading, reverie, and day-dreams. Hence the worse than uselessness of a merely contemplative piety.



The benevolent emotions furnish no exceptions to this general remark. These, if not acted upon and carried into beneficent exertion, only serve to destroy the vital principles of benevolence. Beside this, paradoxical though it may seem, the indulgence of the benevolent sympathies, if not accompanied by benevolent exertion, only serves to harden the heart. The reason is, they are selfish gratifications after all. They centre upon the individual himself. They go not beyond him. They are nothing better than modes of luxurious self-indulgence. And what can be more thoroughly selfish, than that which makes self-gratification its motive, guide, and object? Thus he, whose sympathies are principally awakened by fictitious distress, is ordinarily the most hard and selfish being in existence. "He sighs for wretchedness, but shuns the wretched." The "reality of woe," as has been aptly said, "is the very circumstance that paralyzes his sympathy," since it calls him away from himself; it calls him to act or to suffer for others; and thus breaks in upon the inner sanctuary of his selfish emotions. And he has no heart for duties like these. His tears are all reserved for an imaginary distress. His sentiments indeed are the most philanthropic and magnanimous possible; but they only exist for

"Those faultless monsters that the world ne'er saw."

He has sympathies in great abundance, but they are for beings that never did or can exist. His heart overruns with what he is pleased to call his feelings, but alas! "they are all too delicate for use." He lives in an unreal world; and while he is morbidly sensitive and excitable in regard to *that*, he becomes callous and cold to all that ought to interest him in *this*. And while he thus indulges in a luxurious sensitiveness to the interesting and picturesque scenes of fictitious distress, it is possible that the claims of the domestic circle, wife, children, and friends, may be postponed, forgotten, outraged. Here then is a most important benefit of an active benevolence; it is essential in forming a benevolent character; and it is an important method of guarding against one of the most plausible and insinuating and well-reputed of all the forms of selfishness. And the necessity of an active exercise of benevolent affections to *form* a benevolent character, is not only thus laid in the very nature and constitution of man, but it is also necessary for another reason.

It is only in the active experience of life, and personal intercourse with the wretched, that the proper *discipline* of the benevolent affections is to be found. It can be furnished in no other way. No books will teach it. No speculations will illustrate it. It cannot be gained at our comfortable firesides and our happy homes, with God's uncounted mercies all around us. But it is only to be duly understood and felt and ingrained into the elements of our natures, by a personal intercourse with the suffering, by seeing with our own eyes, and feeling in our own hearts, the claims of real wretchedness. There are lessons to be learned in the hovels of the suffering poor, that can be learned no where else. It is there we may find just and thoughtful and affecting lessons of life, which prosperity cannot teach. It is there we may feel, with new impressiveness the sudden and sad vicissitudes of this "trial state"; the feeble tenure of every mere earthly possession; the unspeakable value of the common blessings of existence, which, because they are common, the very circumstance which gives them their highest value, we so ungratefully enjoy, and stupidly forget. It is there we may best rebuke and correct that selfishness, which springs up spontaneously in human hearts, and which the exchanges of business, current maxims, habitual observation, experience of the world, the social atmosphere we breathe, and almost the whole routine of ordinary life, conspire to increase, mature, and harden. It is there we may see examples of passive courage, meek endurance, disinterested kindness, self-forgetfulness, voluntary devotion to irksome and revolting offices, resignation and enduring trust in God, day by day renewed, day by day increased, amidst a continually renewing and increasing martyrdom of suffering. These are virtues and graces, which are familiarly seen in the abodes of the wretched poor, and which are not, and cannot be exemplified by those in the more privileged walks of life; virtues and graces, which discover an affluence of moral resources, and a truer elevation of soul, a higher state of excellence in all that is excellent in man, than is found or is required in the composition of a host of those politicians and statesmen and conquerors, whom the world ordinarily delights to honor.\* From examples of moral

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\* "What are," inquires Degerando, in his Chapter on the "Virtues of the Poor," the whole of which we earnestly recommend to our

heroism like these, we may learn to repress vanity ; to humble pride ; to feel the wickedness of repining and discontent under the comparatively trifling evils we endure, and how worthy those persons may be of our deferential respect and earnest emulation, whom before, perhaps, we may have regarded as beneath our notice. But there is a discipline to be derived in these abodes of wretchedness still more intimate and affecting. It is a more thorough searching of the kind affections, a fuller developement of the inborn sentiments of benevolence, than can elsewhere be obtained. There is that to be learned from a personal intercourse with real suffering, which no manuals of charity can reveal. There is a deep meaning in the expression of the anguish-riven countenance, which no art can imitate, no language can describe. There is more seen in a single glance, there is more heard in any single tone of real distress, than the most gifted tongue can tell. And he who has once felt and known it in its full significancy, has felt and known that there are depths of tenderness down in his bosom, which were never, never fathomed before. The heart is thus interested ; the whole character softened ; new and before unsuspected sources of sympathy are opened ; an unwonted concern, not only for the sufferer, but for all that lives, is awoke ; a new interest is given to existence ; all the social relations are regarded with a more affectionate interest, with a more thoughtful sensibility ; a deeper insight is gained into the mysteries of moral life ; and new force and impressiveness are given to the great truths which God is contin-

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readers, " what are the virtues of those who live in ease, and in the bosom of select society, endowed with all the benefits of education, surrounded by a respect and a consideration which we learn to regard as necessary elements of our existence in the world ? Do they really deserve the name of virtues ? Where is the merit of them ? What are the efforts they require ? Shall we dare to boast of our common honesty ? Can any one be astonished that we do not fall into the low and degrading actions, which would make us despised ? Shall we call ourselves benevolent, when the gifts we bestow do not cost us a single privation ? Shall we believe ourselves good, because we are amiable, while every one around us is eager to serve and please us ? And yet it is this shadow of virtue, which is encouraged by applauses and rewarded by eulogies, and promotes our success and advancement in the world. Let us rather remember those unknown virtues, which the mantle of poverty and obscurity hides ; and blush at the esteem we receive." — pp. 47, 48.

ually teaching, but which man will not heed, that forgetfulness of self is an essential requisite in all true enjoyment, and that by consulting for the happiness of others we best promote our own. Thus the sons and daughters of suffering may become our instructors and benefactors; and thus it is that we may derive from them better benefits than we can confer.

But this great duty of Christian charity is only to be fulfilled, and these great privileges of Christian charity are only to be gained, by a *personal* intercourse with the poor. This is obviously implied in all these remarks, but it is so important in itself, and one so easily, and, in point of fact, so commonly forgotten, that we give to it a distinct place. The duty of personal, intimately personal intercourse, results from the very "aim and character of charity." We quote, from a chapter with this title, the following excellent remarks of Degerando.

"Charity, then, and not *alms-giving*, is the aim of the designs of Providence, the vocation of the rich man, and the great element necessary to the harmony of the moral world. Alms-giving is only one of the instruments of charity; it is not the only one, or the most important; it even contradicts, and sometimes destroys, the effects of charity itself.

But charity is entirely an individual thing. A largess given in a general way, thrown out to escape importunity, subscribed and published, to nourish pride by the ostentation of false virtue, has nothing to do with charity, with the tie that unites brother to brother. When alms-giving is but a shield from personal pain, and selfish terror, at the sight of misfortune, I had almost said it is an insult to the miserable. Charity alone does good. Her solicitude is enlightened and prospective, as well as tender and affectionate. She examines before she acts; she takes a wide survey, and extends her regards over the future. She goes back to causes; she embraces all circumstances; she adds to her gifts, care, consolation, counsel, and even parental reprimand. This is the wonderful inspiration, which reveals and furnishes to men, who are not in the most prosperous conditions, the means of associating themselves in works of benevolence; of accepting the noblest, the most difficult, the most useful offices towards their unfortunate fellow-men; for it teaches not only to do good, but also, what is not less important, the manner of doing good." — pp. 9, 10.

In illustration of the same truth, we refer to Chapter X.

entitled "Who should be called to the office of 'Visitor of the poor,' " and ask attention especially to the following extracts from it.

"To whom shall this difficult, delicate, and sometimes painful ministry, whose functions have been described, be confided? — We answer, to all those who will consent to accept the burden; whatever may be their sex, age, or condition, provided they have virtue enough to feel the value of it, and judgment and experience enough to be capable of fulfilling it with wisdom." p. 160.

"There is but one way, in which we can dispense with visiting the poor, whom we wish to succour; and that way is, to put the assistance we destine to this end, into the hands of visitors of the poor. But to give blindly, and without any other information, to the beggar at our door, or on the road, is not to give; it is to throw at hazard, and to expose ourselves to do harm, instead of good. If we are happy enough to cause this intended bounty to fall upon the truly unfortunate, without injuring them, still our good action will remain very imperfect towards him; because, having no conviction of the wants of him upon whom it falls, we cannot really sympathize with his sufferings. Nor will it benefit ourselves, since we spare ourselves the application, the fatigue, the employment of time, and the triumph over our repugnances; — that is to say, all that would have been to us a greater sacrifice, than that of a few pieces of money, which, perhaps, imposes upon us no sensible privation.

"If we throw these pieces of money into a charity-box, or confide them to hands more practised, and more active, we shall doubtless obtain an assurance of their being used well. But how many things will be wanting in this apparent charity! We shall have avoided the presence of the unfortunate, and all direct communication with him. Our charity will also be still more indolent than it was before. There is, besides, a great deal of assistance, which we cannot thus transmit through others. Such are certain things we can give, of which we cannot easily deprive ourselves, and which we should reserve, if we did not see some unfortunate person, to whom they would be a treasure. Such, also, are good counsels, consolation, encouragement, and useful suggestions. A single word may double the price of important assistance to him who receives it. In short, we deprive ourselves of a multitude of salutary instructions, which we might have drawn from the exercise of this investigating charity; and thereby, we also deprive ourselves of the means we should have drawn from it, of being more useful to other unfortunates.

"Let those then, who are not insensible to the supplications of misfortune, not fear to make their good actions complete. Their presence will be a testimony of their benevolence, much more expressive than their alms; besides that they will learn how far alms are necessary. Have you not your visits of civility and etiquette? Well, sometimes grant one also to the celestial sentiment of charity! You will have your reward."—pp. 161–163.

Sir James Mackintosh, in quoting the following remark from the writings of Dugald Stewart, pronounces it to be as original as it is just.\* "The apparent coldness and selfishness of mankind may be traced, in a great measure, to a want of attention and a want of imagination. In the case of those misfortunes which happen to ourselves, or our near connexions, neither of these powers is necessary to make us acquainted with our situation. But without an uncommon degree of both, it is impossible for any man to comprehend completely the situation of his neighbour, or to have an idea of the greater part of the distress which exists in the world." This is undoubtedly true, and its application to the subject before us is sufficiently obvious. But what "attention" to the claims of others can be so close and accurate as individual, personal "attention"? and what "imagination" can present such vivid, striking, affecting pictures of distress as are every day seen by him who becomes, in very deed, a "Visitor of the Poor"? There is no substitute for this. Any degree of attention to the subject without this will only furnish us with cold and second-hand information. And all imagination, without this intimate acquaintance with real suffering, will fall, we had almost said, infinitely below the sad reality. We only add, what indeed is very obvious, that personal inspection, and personal intercourse with the poor, are the best, indeed the only effectual means of rendering alms effectual, and preventing them from becoming worse than useless. We shall thus be enabled to ascertain the causes, nature, and extent of the wants of the real sufferer. And in like manner, also, we shall be enabled to unmask the impostor, and thus relieve ourselves from the embarrassment which often arises from the uncertainty whether the alms which are asked, are called for by real or feigned distress. The feelings of genuine benevolence are frequently chilled by this very uncer-

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\* "Progress of Ethical Philosophy." Philadelphia Ed., page 225.

tainty ; and those who are willing to find an excuse for not giving any thing, find it in this. But the proper effect of it is to lead us to the dwelling of the poor to ascertain the facts by our own observation. It is obvious, too, that in this way, and in this way alone, the great evil of begging and vagrancy is to be suppressed.\*

Because then the inequalities of life are of God's appointment and therefore necessary ; because, by the same divine hand, all his rational offspring are bound together by close and indissoluble ties ; because one important final end of these inequalities and these ties is mutual aid and mutual improvement ; because this aid and this improvement cannot be rendered and received but by personal intercourse, we infer this personal intercourse is a duty of perfect moral obligation.

But upon whom does the duty rest ? Upon all, upon all, obviously, who can bestow this personal attention, and render it available in alleviating human wretchedness ; but especially and imperatively upon those who have the greatest power to aid. This is their high and peculiar obligation and privilege, since it remains with them to say whether such an intercourse shall subsist or not. And it is their duty and privilege for another reason, namely, that the claims of this active benevolence are precisely commensurate with the means of doing good. Hence those whom God has made the stewards of his richer bounties, instead of considering wealth, and rank, and influence, and leisure, and refinement as affording an excuse for neglecting a personal intercourse with the poor, should see in these very circumstances a more imperious obligation to cultivate and pursue it. And if these pages meet the eye of any who are accustomed to sit quietly at home, and wait until the claims of the wretched are presented, and then imagine that these claims are fulfilled by the bestowment of a pittance spared from their superfluous wealth, and who deem it a sufficient excuse for doing nothing, that these claims are not thus presented ; we beg leave seriously to remind them, that they have sadly mistaken the prerogatives of their favored sphere. There is nothing in their wealth or station which excuses them, more than others,

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\* See the book under remark, Chapter VIII, for an enlightened view of this subject.

from the duties of an active benevolence ; but, on the contrary, every thing in both, to render these duties more pressing and imperious ; and whatever apologies others may find in straitened circumstances, over-occupation, and grinding toil, for neglecting of the great duty of "going about doing good," they have none such to plead.

But the duty is, by no means, confined to them. The opportunities of doing good by a personal attention and by personal efforts are immeasurably greater than is ordinarily supposed. However narrow may be our resources, though we have little or nothing else to bestow, yet we may give to the wretched our time, our presence, our labor, our advice, our sympathy, our consolation. Those conversant with the chambers of sickness know, that there are a thousand little offices, most soothing and sustaining to the sufferer, which are wholly independent of wealth in the bestowment. We may manifest our kindness and good will towards him ; we may speak words of solace ; we may anticipate his wants ; we may smooth his weary pillow ; we may read his wishes in his languid gaze ; we may interpret the uncertain movements of his restless frame ; we may be as ministering angels to his afflicted spirit ; we may lead his wayward musings to great and sustaining truths ; we may direct his wavering opinions to the right results ; we may point out the beneficent leadings of God's providence ; we may call to mind the blessings yet reserved to him ; we may give to him lessons of contentment, of resignation, of reliance upon God ; we may enable him to reap the blessings of affliction ; we may direct his thoughts to the Saviour's cross, and lead forward his aspirations to the final acceptance of his Father in heaven. And are not these acts of loving favor which are better than silver and gold ? They are unostentatious, indeed ; they confer no distinction ; the frivolous and the over busy know not of them : but they sink deep into the heart of the sufferer ; they are known and registered in heaven, and will be remembered there. The widow's mite was valued, by him who knew the true value of things, above the richest offerings of the rich. He has taught us, too, that if we do what we may, we do what is required ; and that a cup of cold water given in his blessed spirit, shall contribute to the purchase of the Christian's crown. How beautiful and how



true is the sentiment of Wordsworth ; that while

“The primal duties shine aloft — like stars ;  
The charities, that sooth, and heal, and bless,  
Are scattered at the feet of man — like flowers.”

There are other uses of the inequalities of life viewed in reference to the intimate relations of the great family of man, on which it makes no part of our present purpose to dilate. It is sufficiently obvious from what has been said, that they are a part of the designs of our common Father, and intended for beneficent purposes. Like the natural inequalities of the earth's surface, they introduce variety, beauty, and healthfulness, where, otherwise, there would be a dead, unwholesome level. The higher places of society, as they catch more of the floating blessings of divine goodness, are intended to become fountains and reservoirs of refreshment for the parched and thirsty plains beneath. Let the doubter and caviller, who is disposed to see in them marks and proofs of the caprice or favoritism of Providence, learn to take wider and more comprehensive views of their connexions with all things else, and he will perceive, to borrow an elevated thought and expression from the author before us, “there is nothing wanting, but that man should coöperate in the accomplishment of designs, which the believing are allowed progressively to understand, though the Infinite mind alone could originate them.”

We here take leave of the subject ; and have little to add respecting the book before us. If we can induce our readers to read it for themselves, the great object of these remarks will be answered. We do not feel ourselves called upon to speak particularly of the literary merit of the original or of the translation. We deem this, and we have not rightly divined the spirit either of the author or of the translator, if they themselves do not consider it a subject of very secondary importance. We may briefly observe, however, that the style of this treatise has the same prevailing characteristics which mark the other publications of Degerando. It is distinguished by great freedom and ease of movement, an almost colloquial vivacity, entire purity of diction, a practised elegance, frequent felicity of phrase, an occasional vagueness of language if not of thought, and an extreme refinement of remark ; and all this is pervaded and inspired by a high tone of moral sentiment, by a deep interest in his subject, and by a spirit of true Christian philanthropy. The

translator, without aiming at literal correctness, has transferred much of this into her pages, and has presented an unembarrassed, sufficiently faithful, and, on the whole, a felicitous transcript of the original. Both have labored worthily in the best of causes, and it now remains for the public duly to appreciate their services.

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ART. II. — 1. *Sacred Poetry and Music reconciled; or a Collection of Hymns original and compiled, intended to secure, by the simplest and most practicable Means, an invariable Coincidence between the Poetic and the Musical Emphases, and thus to combine the two Powers for the high Purpose of Religious Impression; to which are added several Chants for Hymns and Select Scriptures, with a simple Notation, adapted to the general Design.* By SAMUEL WILLARD, D. D., A. A. S. Boston. Leonard C. Bowles. 1830. 18mo. pp. 360.

2. *Church Psalmody; a Collection of Psalms and Hymns, adapted to Public Worship. Selected from Dr. Watts and other Authors.* Boston. Perkins & Marvin. 1831. 18mo. pp. 576.

3. *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of Unitarian Christians, in Public Worship, and in the Private Culture of the Religious Affections.* Bristol, [England.] Brown & Reid. 1831. 24mo.

SINGING the praises of God, uniting the powerful influences of music with the deep sentiments of devotion in one act of worship, has always been considered an important part of the services of the sanctuary. The beauty and fitness of this union has been felt, not only by the Jewish and the Christian churches, but by all mankind, in all ages. It is one of those universal perceptions, in which Jew and Gentile, Christian and Heathen have agreed, as in an expression of their common nature.

The importance of this act of worship being unquestionable, it necessarily follows, that every improvement in the mode of performing it, every circumstance which tends to heighten its dignity and impressiveness, and make it a worthy exercise of the human soul in its intercourse with the

Father of Spirits, is of essential advantage to the effect of the whole of divine service, and to the great cause of religion. We do not mean to say, however, that in all cases it is necessary that exquisite poetry and excellent music should be joined together, in order that the proper devotional effect be produced, or devotional feeling be warmly and acceptably expressed. In days when the Psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins were thought good poetry by the majority of those who used them in the English churches, and who felt no longing for better, the praise of God was worthily sung in the use of that version. And so in places where musical taste is not much refined or cultivated, a description of tunes, and a manner of singing them, may be highly enjoyed, and prove greatly edifying, which elsewhere would be calculated to destroy, rather than enliven religious sensibilities. These facts do not at all disturb, they only support the proposition, that the poetry and the music employed in church psalmody should, to a very considerable degree at least, meet the taste and intellect of the worshippers, and that every step taken toward this end is an improvement and a blessing, inasmuch as the devotional feelings of men cannot be suitably affected, when their taste and intellect are outraged and offended. There are some men, men well endowed, too, in other respects, who seem to be born with little or no sensibility to music of any kind. Such instances, however, are rare. The great mass of mankind are keenly alive to it, can be powerfully acted upon by it, and through its aid can act powerfully upon themselves. Hence its use and its efficacy, in conjunction with poetry of corresponding merit, in the services of God's house; and hence the necessity of paying attention to its character and improvement, if we would make those services what they ought to be.

The effect of sweet psalmody on the mind and heart, especially on the young mind and heart, is so great, that it can hardly be overrated. At an early period in life, it is, perhaps, the only part of divine service which is strongly affecting. This is so evidently the case, that we wonder it has not been more attended to, in its bearing on the interest of domestic as well as public worship. Wherever family prayer is observed, and there is, at the same time, any love of music, and capacity and means of making it, we are con-

fidant that the employment of the latter would wonderfully heighten the interest of the former ; and that, even in families where, from any cause, prayer is not observed, the singing of a hymn would serve as some substitute for it, and perhaps might in a little time introduce it. Why might not a mother, for instance, or to put the case strongly, why might not a widowed mother, who has learned music as an accomplishment of her youth, turn it now, in her widowhood, to a serious and hallowed use, by gathering her children around her, and saluting the opening, or bidding farewell to the closing day, in a hymn of praise or supplication to the God of the widow and Father of the fatherless, in whom all the families of the earth are blessed ? Is it not to be supposed that the affections of all would be engaged in such a heavenly service, and be elevated by it ? and that she would feel, and her children would feel, the goodly influences of it every year and month and day they lived ?

But it is not our intention at present to discuss the uses and influences of sacred music, or even to touch upon its history, its style, and other topics connected with it, interesting as they may be. We only mean to offer a few observations on hymns and hymn-books, which have been suggested by the late perusal of several collections of sacred poetry, the titles of three of which stand at the head of this article.

It is a common opinion that the body of English sacred poetry is scanty. Whatever may formerly have been our own belief, our impression now decidedly is, that it is ample, — not complete, but ample. Even Montgomery, from whom we should have looked for a more just and discriminating judgment, has said, that “hymns, looking at the multitude and mass of them, appear to have been written by all kinds of persons, except poets.” And in another place he says, that “rich as our native tongue is found in every other species of poetry, it is deficient in this ;” and he accounts for the assumed fact by adding, that “our good poets have seldom been good Christians, and our good Christians have seldom been good poets.”

In opposition to these sentiments we would observe, that it may with justice be said of the multitude and mass of all that is called poetry, that it “appears to have been written by all kinds of persons, except poets.” A hymn is, of ne-

cessity, a composition which must not exceed the limits of a few verses. It is a very short poem. Now we apprehend it will be found, that, comparing the whole body of hymns with the whole body of poems equally short, from two to eight or ten verses, of *all* other descriptions in our language, there are, in proportion to their respective numbers, as many good hymns as there are good short poems. With regard to the assertion, that our good poets have seldom been good Christians, if it is a fact, as we presume it is, it is a fact to be deplored, but quite as much on their account as on that of the church; for though the church has lost the hymns which they might have written, she has gone on very well without them. There seems to us to be a great mistake on this subject. It seems to be thought a certain event, that great poets must necessarily have written better divine songs than any body else, if they had only tried; and furthermore, that a good hymn from a great poet is more valuable, than a good hymn from a person who has no name in the world as a poet. But is not a good hymn a good hymn, whoever writes it? Why is not a hymn, which is really valuable, worth as much with the name of Watts over it as with the name of Dryden over it? And what reason have we to believe that Dryden would have written better hymns than Watts? We have no reason to believe it. On the contrary, we have reason to believe that he would not have written as good hymns; and the reason for believing so is, that, of Dryden's short pieces, there is hardly one to be compared with a hundred of Watts's hymns. To take up another great poet, and place him by the side of another hymn-writer, why should we suppose that Pope would have produced hymns far superior to those which have been produced by Doddridge? The "Universal Prayer" is fine, to be sure, but there are several things in it which disqualify it for being used, and, fine as it is, it is not finer than many of Doddridge's hymns, which can be and are used. The only other composition of Pope's, which bears any affinity to a hymn, is the piece beginning "Vital spark of heavenly flame," which is also beautiful; but it is only a Christianized translation of some lines by a Roman emperor, and is not more beautiful than some of Doddridge's hymns. The fact is, that Watts and Doddridge wrote good hymns, not only because they had that deep feeling and

knowledge of their subject, which is nothing more nor less than poetical inspiration, and which on that subject Dryden and Pope had not, because they were not pious men, but because they had the faculty of raising that peculiar structure, a hymn, which is so peculiar, that even a great and a pious poet may not be able successfully to build it up, small as it is, and simple as it seems. While the church, therefore, has her own poets, poets who have labored with zeal and success to express her praises and devotions in sweet and glowing numbers, she has little cause to regret, on her own account, that poets, who have loftier names in the world, have not contributed their songs.

With this declared conviction of the abundance of good English hymns, we come to speak more particularly of individual writers of hymns, including under this denomination the versifiers of the Hebrew Psalms, as well as original authors.

The version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, the first which was used in the English Established Church, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, is so rugged and uncouth, that, though it still keeps its place in some churches of that establishment, it is given up every where else. With the exception of the two stately verses in the eighteenth Psalm, beginning "The Lord descended from above," and a version of the twenty-third Psalm, we are not aware that any of their severe and well-intended labors can now be turned to account. There is such a beautiful old simplicity in their version of the Psalm last named, that we shall begin our list of specimens with it, as altered, though slightly, by Bishop Heber.

" My Shepherd is the living Lord,  
I therefore nothing need ;  
In pastures fair, near pleasant streams,  
He setteth me to feed.

" He shall convert and glad my soul,  
And bring my mind in frame  
To walk in paths of righteousness,  
For his most holy name.

" Yea, though I walk the vale of death,  
Yet will I fear no ill ;

Thy rod and staff they comfort me,  
And thou art with me still.

“And, in the presence of my foes,  
My table thou shalt spread ;  
Thou wilt fill full my cup, and thou  
Anointed hast my head.

“Through all my life thy favor is  
So frankly shown to me,  
That in thy house for evermore  
My dwelling-place shall be.”

The Psalms of Tate and Brady were also introduced into the English Church by royal authority, but were not forced upon those churches which preferred to retain Sternhold and Hopkins. With their version all our readers must be more or less acquainted, as several of their psalms hold a place in every collection of any value. There is a plain, unconscious majesty in many of them, which reminds one of the finest portions of our common prose translation. Their fifteenth Psalm is well known, and their one hundred and thirty-ninth will probably never be surpassed. Watts, in one of his versifications of the latter, has copied the best parts of theirs, almost word for word. He must have done this, however, with perfect ingenuousness, and without any intention to deceive, as Tate and Brady's versification, which was his model, must have been well known at the time throughout England.

Next in order, but always first in rank, stands Dr. Watts himself. There is, in his Psalms and Hymns, with all their defects, and they are many and great, so much piety and fervor, so much beauty and strength, such a high march of lines, and correct use of Scripture phraseology and imagery, and this is the case with so large a number of his effusions, that he takes easy precedence of other hymn-writers, and should, as indeed he does, occupy the widest space in every collection. The power of Watts's name, founded on the character of his Psalms and Hymns, is perhaps as great as the power of any name on earth. “Every Sabbath,” says Montgomery, “in every region of the earth where his native tongue is spoken, thousands and tens of thousands of voices are sending the sacrifices of prayer and praise to God, in the strains which he prepared for them a century ago ; yea, every day, ‘ he being

dead yet speaketh,' by the lips of posterity, in these sacred lays, some of which may not cease to be sung so long as the language of Britain endures, a language now spreading through all lands whither commerce, civilization, or the gospel is carried by merchants, colonists, and missionaries." We may add, that these lays are sung, a greater or less number of them, not by one denomination of Christians, but by all, and not only by the poor and unlettered, but by the rich, the polished, and the learned. This is fame; and fame, in our opinion, as much superior to that of several of our masters of the lyre, as theirs is superior to that of the merest apprentices in verse.

After Watts we would place Doddridge. In tenderness and sweetness we would place him before Watts. These are his chief characteristics as a writer of hymns, and in these, some of his hymns are seldom rivalled. He is not so daring, not so grand as Watts; but this very deficiency in these respects saved him from that trespassing and even shocking boldness which is one of Watts's principal defects. Doddridge could not have written so powerful, but neither could he have written so startling and unmerciful a stanza, as this from one of Watts's hymns;

" Tempests of angry fire shall roll,  
To blast the rebel worm,  
And beat upon his naked soul  
In one eternal storm ! "

Doddridge's Hymns were published after his death by Dr. Orton, and are among the richest legacies ever left to the church. Though they have been so long within the reach of compilers, there are some of the very choicest of them which have seldom been gathered, and are as fresh as if they were the produce of the present year. Every line of Watts which ought to be, and many lines and verses which ought never to be sung, have been carefully transplanted, and in this respect he has had more than justice done him, while Doddridge has had less. But this is the common fate of secondary names. The very defects of a popular writer are apt to be blown up into beauties, while the beauties of a less lauded author are suffered to remain in obscurity. The following hymn of Doddridge is in none of the collections now before



us, and will probably be new to most of our readers ; but we have seldom read a finer strain of Christian consolation.

“Transporting tidings which we hear !  
What music to the pious ear !  
Christ loves each humble saint so well  
He with his Lord shall ever dwell.

O happy dead, in thee that sleep,  
While o’er their mouldering dust we weep !  
O faithful Saviour, who shall come  
That dust to ransom from the tomb !

While thine unerring word imparts  
So rich a cordial to our hearts,  
Through tears our triumphs shall be shown,  
Though round their graves, and near our own.”

And how could such a hymn as this next be passed over, blazing up as it does with fire from the altar ? It may be read and sung a hundred times, and never lose its interest.

“Awake, ye saints, and raise your eyes,  
And raise your voices high ;  
Awake, and praise that sovereign love,  
That shows salvation nigh.

“On all the wings of time it flies ;  
Each moment brings it near ;  
Then welcome each declining day !  
Welcome each closing year !

“Not many years their round shall run,  
Not many mornings rise,  
Ere all its glories stand revealed  
To our admiring eyes.

“Ye wheels of nature, speed your course ;  
Ye mortal powers decay ;  
Fast as ye bring the night of death,  
Ye bring eternal day.”

The compilers of the “Church Psalmody” have introduced the above hymn into their collection ; but why should they have altered the second verse thus ?

“Swift on the wings of time it flies ;  
Each moment brings it near :

Then gladly view each closing day,  
And each revolving year ! ”

We wish that we could now and then meet with a hymn as it came from its author.

There are other hymns of Doddridge which have been strangely neglected, such as those beginning, “Thrice happy state, where saints shall live,” — “Return, my soul, and seek thy rest,” — “Unite, my roving thoughts, unite,” — “Lord, we have wandered from thy way,” &c., than which few better can be had from any source. The fact is, we suspect, that collectors have borrowed Doddridge’s hymns from each other, instead of going to Doddridge himself; and that a few of them have thus descended from one hymn-book to another, with no other care than that of constant alteration. In this particular, the diligence of collectors has indeed been great. The tormented compositions have had no Sabbath to their souls; and some of them have been so altered and re-altered, that if Dr. Doddridge were to come back on earth, he could not know, and would not own them.

Charles Wesley holds, in our estimation, the next place, as a hymn-writer, to the two already mentioned. The family of the Wesleys was a most remarkable one. John Wesley conducted one of the most important, and, as we sincerely believe, one of the most beneficial revolutions, take it altogether, which England has ever seen, — we mean the introduction of Methodism. Samuel, the eldest brother, was a man of a strong mind, and of more good sense and cool judgment, than either of the others; and that he was not deficient in poetical talent may be seen by turning to the hymn which has been adopted into several collections, beginning, “The morning flowers display their sweets.” Charles had a genius which was like a fountain of fire; and burning words flowed from it spontaneously. Knowing the importance of psalmody, John, the apostle of Methodism, determined to make a collection of hymns, suited to the peculiarities of his sect, and Charles was ready to assist him to any extent. The result was a book of most marked character, and of a high order of poetry, containing five hundred and sixty hymns, by far the greater part of which Charles is known to have written, though no authors’ names were given. John himself is understood to have written several of them; and he introduced

the book by a very sensible preface, subscribed with his own name, the last paragraph of which we will here repeat. After speaking of the poetry of the volume, he thus proceeds. "But that which is of infinitely more moment than the spirit of poetry, is the spirit of piety. And I trust that all persons of real judgment will find this breathing through the whole collection. It is in this view chiefly, that I would recommend it to every truly pious reader, as a means of raising or quickening the spirit of devotion; of confirming his faith; of enlivening his hope; and of kindling and increasing his love to God and man. When poetry thus keeps its place, as the handmaid of piety, it shall attain, not a poor, perishable wreath, but a crown that fadeth not away."

The hymns of Charles Wesley, though often extravagant, or extravagant according to our perception, are peculiarly marked by the strong expression of devout affections. They are the words of a fervent spirit in close communion with God. He is occasionally, also, sublime. There is a hymn of his on the Judgment, which could only be sung in seasons of great excitement, and for the admission of which into a collection we should not vehemently plead, but which seems to have been inspired by a sight of the scene which is its subject. It begins in the following abrupt and striking manner.

"Stand the omnipotent decree!  
Jehovah's will be done!  
Nature's end we wait to see,  
And hear her final groan."

And, singing afterward of the security of the immortal spirit of man in the general wreck of matter, it continues,

"Lo! the heavenly spirit towers  
Like flames o'er nature's funeral pyre:  
Triumphs in immortal powers,  
And claps his wings of fire!"

There is a remarkable hymn in Wesley's collection, on death, full of descriptive pathos, which can hardly be used in public worship, at least, in our congregations, but from which we cannot forbear quoting a few stanzas.

"This earth is affected no more  
With sickness, nor shaken with pain;  
The war in the members is o'er,  
And never shall vex him again.

No anger henceforward, nor shame,  
Shall redden his innocent clay ;  
Extinct is the animal flame,  
And passion is vanished away.

“ This languishing head is at rest,  
Its thinking and aching are o’er ;  
This quiet, immovable breast  
Is heaved by affliction no more.  
This heart is no longer the seat  
Of trouble and torturing pain,  
It ceases to flutter and beat,  
It never shall flutter again.”

But there are plenty of the Wesleyan hymns which can be used in the public worship of any denomination of Christians. The hymns beginning, “ My God, my strength, my hope,” — “ A charge to keep I have,” — “ Give to the winds thy fears,” are not unknown among us. The most careful Unitarian could have no objection to hear or sing such an invocation of heavenly wisdom as this which follows.

“ Be it my only wisdom here,  
To serve the Lord with filial fear,  
With loving gratitude ;  
Superior sense may I display,  
By shunning every evil way,  
And walking in the good.

“ O may I still from sin depart !  
A wise and understanding heart,  
Father, to me be given !  
And let me through thy Spirit know  
To glorify my God below,  
And find my way to heaven.”

And who could have his rest disturbed by such a Sabbath hymn as this ?

“ Lord, I believe a rest remains,  
To all thy people known ;  
A rest where pure enjoyment reigns,  
And thou art loved alone ;

“ A rest, where all our soul’s desire  
Is fixed on things above ;  
Where fear, and sin, and grief expire,  
Cast out by perfect love.

"O that I now the rest might know,  
Believe and enter in !  
Now, Father, now the power bestow,  
And let me cease from sin !

"Remove all hardness from my heart,  
All unbelief remove ;  
To me the rest of faith impart,  
The sabbath of thy love."

We might go on quoting for a long time, if we had room, with pleasure to ourselves, and with no fear of fatiguing our readers. The man who could write such hymns, Methodist or no Methodist, was not a man to be looked down upon even by the highest and the best. Distinguished by devotional feeling, harmonious numbers, the felicitous use of Scripture language, and an indescribable impulse of heart which sets through them like a stream, many of them must be received at last in our churches, and prized as they deserve, in spite of prejudice and sectarian division ; and blessed be the power of poetry and music, which can thus bring separated hearts together, and make distant churches unite in offering the same sacrifice of the lips to the same gracious and all-accepting God !

Merrick is a writer who precedes Wesley in point of time. His version of the Psalms consists of long, continuous phrases, in general without regard to the division of verses. Hence those psalms of his, which we see in our books, are usually made up of selected lines ; and not much more can be obtained from him, than has already been culled. His version of the thirty-ninth Psalm is peculiarly happy.

The hymns generally attributed to Addison, are given by some to Andrew Marvell, but we should think on insufficient grounds. If they belong to Addison, they are the best poetry he ever wrote. And this is one proof of the fact already hinted at, that religion and virtue are poetic inspiration of themselves ; or rather, that religious themes bring their own inspiration to a religious mind.

Cowper is the only poet, of a celebrated name as such, who has written many hymns. They are all, or at least the greater part of them are, included in John Newton's Olney Collection. He has produced twelve or fourteen which are worthy of his reputation, and are choice gems in the church.

treasury. Such are "The Spirit breathes upon the word," or, as it generally begins in our collections, at the second verse, "A glory gilds the sacred page,"—"To keep the lamp alive,"—"Far from the world, O Lord, I flee,"—"When darkness long has veiled my mind," and others. But he too often forgets that he is writing a hymn, and presents us with a stiff allegory, a bible narrative, a scholastic argument, or even a severe piece of sarcasm. Here again we see, that a good poet may write poor hymns. But here the obstacle was peculiarity of mind, circumstances, and feelings, and not a deficiency of religious sentiment.

His friend, Newton, has also left us some excellent hymns, which may be picked here and there from the strange mass of his Olney Collection, and are in general use in the churches. He too was fond of allegorizing, and symbolizing, and versifying Scripture facts and histories. The following titles, taken in the course of a few pages from his book, will show this curiosity of taste, and show too how unfit most of his hymns must be for the purposes of public worship. We find "The Bitter Waters,"—"Jehovah-Rophi; I am the Lord that healeth thee,"—"Manna hoarded,"—"The Golden Calf,"—"Samson's Lion,"—"The Milch Kine drawing the Ark,"—"The Borrowed Axe." Some of the Scripture facts are versified, however, with much judgment and taste. We will lay one of these before our readers, on the "Death of Stephen," which might very properly be sung in an Episcopal Church on that martyr's day.

"As some tall rock amidst the waves  
The fury of the tempest braves,  
While the fierce billows, tossing high,  
Break at its foot, and, murmuring, die;

"Thus they who in the Lord confide,  
Though foes assault on every side,  
Cannot be moved or overthrown,  
For Jesus makes their cause his own.

"So faithful Stephen, undismayed,  
The malice of the Jews surveyed;  
The holy joy which filled his breast,  
A lustre on his face impressed.

“Behold ! (he said) the world of light  
Is opened to my strengthened sight ;  
My glorious Lord appears in view,  
That Jesus whom ye lately slew.’

“With such a friend and witness near,  
No form of death could make him fear ;  
Calm amidst showers of stones, he kneels,  
And only for his murderers feels.

“May we, by faith, perceive thee thus,  
Dear Saviour, ever near to us !  
This sight our peace through life shall keep,  
And death be feared no more than sleep.”

Bishop Heber, among other claims to perpetual remembrance, has secured a constant notice in the church by a few exquisite hymns, which are beginning to take a permanent place in our psalmody. “From Greenland’s icy mountains,” has, for some time, been a favorite. “Spirit of truth, on this thy day,” — “Forth from the dark and stormy sky,” — “Oh God that mad’st the earth and sky,” are equally sure of favor. What words could express the aspirations of humble, pleading, Christian devotion more warmly and truly than these, which form the second verse of the last named hymn ?

“The cross our Master bore for us,  
For Him we fain would bear ;  
But mortal strength to weakness turns,  
And courage to despair !  
Then mercy on our failings, Lord !  
Our sinking faith renew !  
And when his sorrows visit us,  
Oh send his patience too ! ”

James Montgomery (Robert, we fear, will never get to be a poet,) has done more for devotional poetry than any living writer. He has done this, not only by his versifications of some of the Psalms, which he has entitled “Songs of Zion,” and by a large number of original hymns, but by fitting up and bringing into notice some of the Moravian effusions, for which many a heart will bless him, as ours does now. His own hymns may not challenge the most exalted rank ; but there is so much harmony and sweetness in their structure, and so much Christianity in their spirit, that they glide into

our affections, and we never regret the place which we yield them. Good hymns on the life and character of our Saviour, which have been much wanted, have been furnished by him. "The morning dawns upon the place," is a passion-hymn almost unrivalled, and so is the communion hymn, which begins with the ready assent of the disciple,

"According to thy gracious word,  
In meek humility,  
This will I do, my dying Lord,  
I will remember thee!"

and ends with his fervent ejaculation,

"And when these failing lips grow dumb,  
And mind and memory flee,  
When thou shalt in thy kingdom come,  
Jesus, remember me!"

We ought to say more of Mrs. Steele and Mrs. Barbauld, than barely to mention their names, but time forbids. And so too of Browne, Stennet, Beddome, Toplady, Scott, Drummond, Enfield, Butcher, Jervis, the Taylors, the Roscoes, Bowring, and a number of others. Acceptable contributions have been made by all of these; nor are there wanting those in our own country who have sung with the spirit and with the understanding also.

Having said enough, we think, to show that the present store of good hymns in our language is by no means a scanty one, we shall conclude our subject by brief notices of the collections which have served as our text.

The distinguishing peculiarity of Dr. Willard's collection, is the care with which each hymn is prepared for the choir, by the adaptation of the poetic to the musical emphasis. After all that has been advanced on this point, we think that we can settle it, at least for ourselves, in a few words. There is no question, then, that the more regular a hymn is in its structure, the better fitted it is for the purposes of public worship; that the nearer its verses correspond in their emphases with each other, and with the tune to which it is to be sung, the more pleasant will be its performance to those who sing and those who hear. And therefore it is to be regretted, that our hymn-writers have not attended to this fact more than they have, and taken better care that the qualities of their "immortal verse" should be suited to the music to which it was "to be



married." But is all the accommodation and concession to be made by the verse, and none at all by the music? We think not. Are capital hymns to be thrown aside, or altered out of their identity, because here and there they have a somewhat untamable word, or an unimportant word which falls to the lot of an important musical note? We think not. If there is life and glow in the hymn, it will carry the worshipper triumphantly over a few stony places. If there is not life and glow in it, it will hardly be worth singing, though it be regular to a nicety. A well-trained choir will not mind an occasional difficulty; and when the whole congregation sing, with the right old-fashioned burst of sound and sympathy, only give them sentiments to engage their minds and warm their hearts, and their tongues heed no difficulty at all; they dash through the whole, with the spirit of a chant, which is the perfection of divine music, and every line is harmony, and every word is prayer and praise. We object not to the change of a word or two for the sake of music, any more than for the sake of doctrine, but we do strongly and decidedly object to any great changes for the sake of either. If we cannot conscientiously sing a hymn without tearing it to pieces, and building it up again after our own doctrinal fashion, we wish not to meddle with it. If a hymn is so inharmoniously obdurate, that no musical strains will suit it, let it be left in the closet of the reader. But how many hymns are there of this latter character? Give us a soul-moving verse, and we will engage that it shall be sung by those who have souls to be moved. It will be perceived that we agree with Dr. Willard in his principle, though not to the extent to which he has carried it. But we confess that he has borne it through with a master-hand, and all will see that he is well acquainted with his work. His original hymns, also, are many, and on a wide variety of topics; and a fair proportion of them may be regarded as valuable acquisitions.

The "Church Psalmody" is decidedly the best Orthodox collection which we have seen; for Orthodox it is, as in its scholastic and popish doxologies it seems to take pains to prove. At the end of the psalms, and at the end of the hymns, there is more than the usual array of the Damasian ascription to the Trinity, for all the occasions of metre, and with an arithmetical opulence of permutation and combination.

As if the ascriptions of the Apostles would not secure the faith so well as that of the self-styled successor of St. Peter ! And truly they would not secure *that* faith so well. But these things have been, and must yet be, and overlooking them as we must, we render our cheerful acknowledgment to the merits of this collection. There are seven hundred and thirty-three hymns and doxologies in it, besides some anthems at the end ; and in this spacious range there is much to edify and delight the reader. Here, too, much attention has been given to musical accommodation, and there is much alteration of hymns consequent upon it, as well as much which is not demanded by this cause, or any cause, that we can see. We must say, and repeat, that we cannot bear to see old friends mangled at this rate. Our hearts cannot consent to make this sacrifice to our ears. Why must two verses of Watts be dovetailed into a third by Doddridge, and these again be spliced to a fourth by nobody knows whom ? If this manufacture must go on, let no names appear in the Index, and then we shall not be so constantly grieved and disappointed by the metamorphoses of our professed acquaintance.

Some faults of minor consequence may be detected in this collection, and are inevitable to such an undertaking ; such as ascribing a hymn, by mistake, to a source from which it did not really come. A version of the one hundred and thirty-third Psalm, for instance, commencing with the line, " Spirit of Peace ! celestial Dove ! " is put down in the Index as from the Brattle Street Collection ; but there is no such Psalm in that book. It was taken from a late English publication, called the " Spirit of the Psalms." Doddridge's " Return, my roving heart, return," is a little altered, and credited to " Pratt's Collection." But these things will happen, unless the compiler be acquainted with the whole body and compass of sacred poetry, which it is too much to expect from any one who does not make it a particular and long continued study.

Among the hymns in this collection which were new to us, we quote the following communion hymn, borrowed from " Pratt's Collection," because it is good, and because good communion hymns are scarce.

" 1. Bread of heaven ! on thee we feed,  
For thy flesh is meat indeed :

Ever let our souls be fed  
With this true and living bread.

"2. Vine of heaven ! thy blood supplies  
This blest cup of sacrifice :  
Lord, thy wounds our healing give ;  
To thy cross we look, and live.

"3. Day by day with strength supplied  
Through the life of him who died ;  
Lord of life ! oh let us be  
Rooted, grafted, built on thee !"

Dr. Carpenter's little volume is neat to the eye and pleasant to the spirit. It contains four hundred and eighty-two hymns, and gives us more satisfaction, on the whole, than any English collection which we have met with. Old hymns appear in it, for the most part, with their true old faces, and several new hymns, of great beauty, are introduced to us in its pages. For ourselves, we object to the use of the word "Unitarian" on its title page, though we are sure that the respected compiler would not have adopted it without weighty reasons. A Unitarian hymn-book is peculiarly a Christian hymn-book, because it excludes every thing sectarian ; therefore we should prefer that the term Unitarian should not be emblazoned on it, being a term which conveys a sectarian meaning to the apprehension of the world. Let it be understood that the only genuine and invariable marks of a Unitarian hymn-book are its freedom from disputed dogmas, its gospel simplicity, its generous charity, and its warm devotion.

From the new hymns in this Bristol Collection we will copy a part of one, against which is the name of Fisher as author, and which begins,

"Sing, Christian, sing ! for you alone  
Possess the immortal powers of song."

We take the last two verses only, because they are superior to the two others, and because they furnish us with a fit conclusion to our subject.

"Sing ! for these humble strains must cease  
Lost in unutterable bliss,  
When, freed from sorrow, face to face,  
You see the Saviour as he is.

When life, immortal life, is won,  
The song of hope no more can rise ;  
She breathes her last, her sweetest tone,  
Before the dawn of paradise.

“The voice of faith and hope must die ;  
And not to mortal ears are given  
The lofty hymns of victory,  
Unknown but to the sons of heaven.  
Yet have our pilgrim lays the theme  
Which crowns their song of joy above ;  
In heaven and earth the Saviour's name  
Unites the eternal song of love.”

**ART. III.—1. *Village Sermons: Doctrinal and Practical.***

By BERNARD WHITMAN. Boston. Leonard C. Bowles.  
1832. 12mo. pp. 292.

2. *Counsels and Consolations: containing Meditations and Reflections on Sixty-two Passages of Scripture, with particular Reference to those in Trouble and Affliction. To which are added Four Sermons, suited to Persons in Distressing and Mournful Circumstances.* By JONATHAN FARR. Boston. Leonard C. Bowles and B. H. Greene.  
1832. 16mo. pp. 206.

WE put these two books into the same notice, because they resemble one another in several respects. Both are alike remarkable for strong good sense ; both are almost exclusively practical ; and both are designed and intended not so much for scholars as for the people. Mr. Whitman excels, perhaps, in vigor and condensation ; Mr. Farr in an evangelical manner, and in what is called unction.

The “*Village Sermons*” are twenty-two in number, on topics, generally speaking, the most interesting and important, discussed throughout in a plain, but direct, forcible, and impressive style. The secret of Mr. Whitman's power and popularity with common readers is like that of Richard Wright's in England. He preaches neither to the imagination nor to the passions, but to the judgment, and common sense, and con-

science ; aiming to induce men to act right, not from fancy, or fright, or sudden impulse of any kind, but from honest, sober, and deep conviction. His discourses are a proof, as well as an illustration, of how much a peculiarly lucid style and method, and argument well sustained and easy to be followed, will do, without the aid of pathos or impassioned declamation, to make preaching interesting and effective even with the multitude. Such preaching commonly passes for dull, and often is so ; but this happens generally, we suspect, from want of ability in the preacher ; or because he overrates the acquisitions of the bulk of his audience, and so does not make himself to be understood ; or underrates their capacities, and so dwells too long and unnecessarily on vapid truisms.

We shall give an extract or two, being influenced in the selection by regard rather to something novel or opportune in the topics, than to the manner in which they are discussed. Many passages might be adduced, which in their style and general tone, are more impressive, and probably more useful and edifying. In the sermon on the "Nature and Necessity of Holiness," Mr. Whitman considers a difficulty not often adverted to in the pulpit.

"Perhaps you will ask," he says, "how those who die in infancy and childhood can be happy in a future existence, since they were not born holy and have not lived long enough to acquire holiness : This question I will candidly answer. An infant, though not a moral agent, and of course without any moral character, is still a subject of the kingdom of heaven, as expressly affirmed by the Saviour. He is innocent, for he has committed no sin. He is pure, for his soul being spiritual must proceed directly from the Father of spirits, from whom no impure thing can proceed. And because he is innocent and pure, just as he came from the hands of his Maker, he is an object of divine complacency and love ; and at death he is conveyed to mansions of eternal blessedness by those guardian angels who do always behold the face of their Father in heaven. There he can suffer nothing ; for his soul is free from sin, the only cause of suffering in a spiritual world. Nor can he ever suffer ; for he has no evil in himself, and no temptations around him ; he sees none but good examples to imitate, and hears only the language of truth and piety ; he receives none but holy instructions, and associates with none but pure beings ; of course he will commit no sin, and consequently can suffer no punishment. Though he suffers nothing nor

ever can, neither can he enter immediately upon perfect spiritual happiness. For he enters the other world as ignorant as he leaves this; his existence is but just commenced; he has not acquired the full exercise of his faculties; he has formed no moral character; of course he is no better prepared for perfect spiritual happiness than an infant in this world. But in this state he cannot long continue; for he has entered the kingdom of heaven; he is in the society of just men made perfect, who will delight in instructing him in the duties and enjoyments of the spiritual regions; he is received into the mansions of Jesus, who, while on earth, took little children into his arms and blessed them as the lambs of his fold; he is in the more immediate presence of God, who is love, and who loves all the works of his hands. Under such instructors, and with such examples, his progress in knowledge and holiness must be incalculable, and in exact proportion to his increase in these will be his increase in unalloyed happiness. Thus, though destitute of personal holiness when borne by angels to paradise, he soon acquires a character altogether holy, and quickly becomes qualified for complete heavenly happiness. This speculation on the future condition of infants and children seems to me both rational and scriptural, and perfectly consistent with the necessity of holiness as a preparation for future happiness." — pp. 273 – 275.

Again: in his sermon on "The Gospel a safe Guide of Faith and Practice," he thus speaks:

"But perhaps you will now ask, if inhabitants of Christian lands may safely obey conscience in preference to the Gospel? No. This experiment has been fairly tried. The Catholics formerly persecuted and murdered the Protestants; and all in obedience to conscience. The Protestants in turn not only murdered the Catholics but those of their own denomination who would not swear to a human creed; and all for conscience' sake. Our pious forefathers banished the Baptists, and murdered the Quakers, and hung the supposed witches; and all to satisfy conscience, falsely so called. At the present day you may see professing Christians in various sects who are guilty of practices which are unscriptural; and conscience is pleaded in excuse. Now is such Christian fruit? Is it obeying the golden rule? I think not. And if all were to have such consciences, the world would again soon be filled with blood and violence. If then you consider these well known facts; the irrational belief and abominable practices of heathens; the inconsistent faith and unrighteous conduct of professing Christians, when they prefer what they call con-

science to the gospel, you must admit that conscience unenlightened is no safe and sufficient guide.

“Now I would not say one word to injure the influence of a good conscience. For I regard it as of great value and importance. The evil is here. In unchristian nations the people have had no means of educating conscience; no sufficient and satisfactory means. And in Christian lands, many have mistaken their prejudices, their will, their passions, their ignorance, their bigotry, for the dictates of conscience. They have set what they called conscience above revelation, and then proceeded to commit unchristian practices. But the proper course is to cultivate conscience; to enlighten it at the ever-burning lamp of revelation; to follow its dictates so far as they conform to the plain instructions of Jesus, and no farther. Thus conscience would prove a most valuable and faithful monitor, and would generally direct us to walk in the way of truth and duty. While, therefore, we are grateful for the gift of conscience, which in an unenlightened state is not a safe and sufficient guide, let us be still more grateful for the means of educating and enlightening it in all things essential to peace and holiness.” — pp. 236, 237.

More than two thirds of Mr. Farr's book is given, as the title-page intimates, to short comments on texts of Scripture peculiarly pertinent to cases of sickness or bereavement. He has been much among the afflicted, and has learned with what earnestness the bowed spirit of man turns, almost instinctively, to the divine word for consolation and support. A thought, a hint from him who was himself “a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief,” will do more to soothe and reconcile the broken-hearted, than volumes of cold and barren philosophy. Mr. Farr, as we have had occasion to observe before, is a plain-spoken man; but his severity is mingled with occasional touches of tenderness and pathos, which serve to qualify and mellow the effect of a directness and sharpness of style that, otherwise, might be pronounced uncalled for and excessive.

Thus in answering the question in Scripture, “What shall we do?” he says:

“I suppose that many of those, into whose hands this book may fall, may be ‘concerned,’ but hesitating. They have a great regard for, and feel a deep interest in religion, and a growing concern for the welfare of their souls; but they have never made a profession of religion, nor, perhaps, ever been baptized.

"They may have been thoughtful, and engaged in religious duties and exercises for years ; but they have not felt prepared for joining a church. You dare not come to the Lord's table, nor enter into so solemn a covenant.

"Now, I shall not undertake to remove all your scruples and doubts in the way you may wish. It would be of little profit. I suspect you are deceiving yourself.

"You feel unfit, unprepared to come to the Lord's table. You cannot *now* enter into such a solemn covenant. And have you not said so many times ? And do you think you are any more fit and prepared *now*, than you were when you first made this excuse ? Are you striving constantly to be prepared ? Do you read, do you search the Scriptures ? Are you in the habit of praying ? Have you prayed, and do you fervently pray to the Father that he may give you his holy spirit ? You are afraid to make any engagement or promise, lest you should not keep it. It would appear by this, that you had a very tender conscience. But is this the fact ? Have we any evidence of it in your life ? Have you been striving to multiply and deepen good impressions ? to increase your knowledge of God and of the Saviour, and of your duties to them ? Have you grown more watchful over your heart and life ? Have you made any advances in virtue and piety ? Must you not confess, that the reason you are not fit and prepared is, that *you* have been negligent ? that the blame is altogether your own ? and, if so, then where is your *tender conscience* ? Have you acted like one wishing to believe in Christ and be his friend ? What is the cross you cannot take and bear ? What are your besetting sins to which you are so enslaved ? About what are you in suspense ? 'Speak to the children of Israel that they go forward.' " — pp. 133, 134.

One more extract must suffice, in which, speaking of sickness and the care of the sick, he observes,

"Be judicious in your choice of a physician, when you can choose ; and then be very scrupulous and exact in attending to his prescriptions. Many nurses are very stupid and faithless ; and in this way they greatly injure the reputation and usefulness of the physician, and multiply the dangers of the patient.

"Let those who have the care of the sick, beware how they indulge the feelings and taste of the patient to the neglect of the orders given them.

"Keep the sick as cleanly, and in as large, warm, and well-aired a room, as you can ; and let it be as remote from noise as possible. Generally, let none enter the room but those whose business it is to be there.



"Have no long stories, whispering, whining, sighing, crying. Let friends and relatives suppress their feelings, if they really desire the recovery of the sick. Ask the patient but few questions; and do not sit or stand staring at him. Be careful how you weary and alarm him.

"Be not light, coarse, clownish, dark, and doleful; but be mild, affectionate, and respectful. Say but few words, and then retire very soon. Do not fill the family with forebodings. Many persons who visit the sick prove to be tormenters, rather than comforters. They stay too long; they are noisy; they are talkative; they are meddlesome; they frequently express by their words, tones, and looks, fears which should be either concealed, or disclosed with great prudence.

"If the sick person have neglected religion till now, let none converse with him, on this important subject, but his minister and a select few of his intelligent and pious friends. But do not this without the knowledge and advice of his physician.

"Have no long reading, praying, or exhortation. Think of his feeble state of body and mind. Consider whether the disease be not of such a nature, that it is impossible for him to do any thing in regard to faith and repentance. If it is, be not so foolish and cruel as to attempt to fix his heart and thoughts on religion then.

"Pray for him frequently and fervently, and embrace the earliest opportunities, when recovering, to urge religion upon his attention.

"There are many disorders which so weaken and derange the system, that you can indulge no reasonable hope of his being converted then. Still, we can pray in secret, or silently, that his life may be prolonged, and that his sins may be forgiven, and then bow with awful reverence to the will of a righteous and good God.

"O that every sinner would deeply consider these things, long before he is brought into such a distressing condition.

"Reader! reader! are you prepared for a sick and a dying bed? And are you prepared to see your near and dear friends in such a situation? O give your heart, and devote your life to your Saviour and to your heavenly Father *now*. Thousands in such circumstances have wished they had been religious before. But no one at such a season has regretted that he had been a humble follower of Jesus Christ, O may this warning voice be heard, felt, and obeyed." — pp. 137 – 139.

Mr. Farr says, in the Preface, "I indulge the hope, that not a few of the prosperous, enlightened, and benevolent,

if this work should meet their approbation, will second these humble efforts by the purchase and distribution of the volume among the children of sorrow." We hope that this suggestion will be acted on; for we can hardly conceive of a charity more godlike, than that which, failing in its endeavours to prevent or remove human suffering, assists in supplying and diffusing the means of bearing it with meekness and filial trust.

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ART. IV. — *A Vindication of Dr. Paley's Theory of Morals from the principal Objections of Mr. Dugald Stewart; Mr. Gisborne; Dr. Pearson; and Dr. Thomas Brown. With an Appendix, containing Strictures on some Remarks of Dr. Whately, Principal of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford.* By the REV. LATHAM WAINEWRIGHT, M. A., F. S. A., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Rector of Great Brickhill, &c. London. 1830. 8vo. pp. 204.

It has been so much the fashion, of late years, to decry Paley's doctrine of expediency, that one is disposed, from that principle in our nature which inclines us to favor the weaker party, to hail the writer who undertakes its vindication. Besides, the vindication, if successful, will relieve those of our colleges and public and private seminaries, which still use Paley's treatise as a text-book in moral and political philosophy, from the charge of exposing unnecessarily the minds of the young to the influence of principles, which, as has been supposed, are not only false, but of a bad and dangerous tendency. A careful perusal of Mr. Wainewright's work has convinced us, that the task which he has assumed could hardly have fallen into abler hands; uniting, as he does, to a proper interest in the subject, and the necessary ingenuity and scholarship, that candor and urbanity which take from controversy all that is objectionable. All that we propose to do at this time, is to give a rapid sketch of his argument, with some extracts, and leave them to affect our readers as they may.

Beginning with Dugald Stewart, he says, and, as it seems to us, with justice :

"I cannot help thinking, that Mr. Stewart is chargeable with some degree of unfairness in placing Dr. Paley in the same class of moralists with Hume and Godwin, and thus associating one of the most powerful advocates of Christianity, with two of its most insidious and determined enemies, because they appear to agree in regarding utility as the principle which renders virtue obligatory on mankind. I say *appear* to agree; for if no other distinction could be discovered between writers, who, in reality, possess so little in common with each other, it would be quite sufficient to point out the difference of meaning affixed by these two parties to the same term. In the one case, utility is considered as the sole *obligation*; in the other, as the *rule* or *standard*, to which we are to refer, whenever the rectitude of an action becomes doubtful. According to the former system, the views of the agent are confessedly limited to the present life; according to the latter, he is directed to look forward to a state of existence beyond the grave. It is not to be denied, however, that Dr. Paley's language is often defective in precision, and that a few instances of obvious inconsistency may be pointed out in different parts of his work. Of this an apposite exemplification is furnished in the first of the passages quoted by Mr. Dugald Stewart: 'Whatever is expedient is right. It is the utility of any moral rule alone which constitutes the *obligation* of it,' \* &c. But still it is abundantly evident from the context, and the general purport of his work, that what he means to inculcate is, that utility is merely the *rule* or *criterion* of virtue, and is then only to be followed as our guide, when certainty is not to be obtained from the language of Scripture. In a more limited sense, utility might nevertheless be described as the obligation, since there is unquestionably a distinction between the motive which *immediately* influences the conduct, and the *ultimate* motive. Nor is the reality of the latter to be disputed, because it is not always present to the mind, and because inducements less remote in their operation may be sufficiently influential in the ordinary transactions of life. On this account, what has been observed by some writers concerning the divine will, might be applied to *expediency*. It might be made the rule and the motive at the same time; and we might in this manner vindicate the language of Dr. Paley, when he asserts that the utility of a rule constitutes the obligation of it. But, in truth, it would have been more consistent with the author's former explanation, to substitute the term *criterion* for that of obligation, as we find that he has done in the very next page. Hence we

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\* \* Prin. of Mor. Phil. Vol. I. p. 70."

may regard the expression as it here occurs, as nothing more than a verbal inaccuracy, by no means affecting the general reasoning of the work." — pp. 6–8.

The passage which suggested these animadversions occurs in Mr. Stewart's "Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind." In the latest of his publications, "The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man," he goes more fully into the discussion, and insists upon it as a capital and fatal objection to Paley's theory, that it mistakes and misrepresents the origin of our moral judgments and feelings. Paley and Stewart agree in believing, that there is an essential difference between right and wrong, and that men, in point of fact, and often long anterior to the exercise of the reasoning powers, possess the faculty of discerning and feeling this difference. The only important question properly at issue between them is this: The latter maintains, that this faculty is simple and original; the former, that it is complex and acquired. On this controversy Mr. Wainewright observes:

"It appears to me, I confess, that the question respecting the origin of our moral feelings does not possess that importance which Mr. Stewart and others are so anxious to attach to it. Scarcely any person, I imagine, who has attentively exercised his observation, can be found, who would deny that the major part of mankind are placed in circumstances, which, at an earlier or a later period, give rise to the moral sentiments in the breast, and that these sentiments possess, on the whole, a great degree of uniformity, subject nevertheless to exceptions and variations which a difference of external condition, and consequently of mental culture, will satisfactorily explain. Whether these moral perceptions and feelings are to be deemed instinctive, or whether they derive their origin from the more rational process described by Locke, Hartley, and Paley, the practical results are precisely the same, and the essential distinction between virtue and vice remains unaltered: and hence it cannot but excite surprise, that the latter opinion should have been opposed with a degree of warmth so little justified by the occasion. When we can account for any striking phenomena, whether physical, mental, or moral, from causes which are acknowledged by all parties to be constantly in operation, it is surely, to say the least, highly unreasonable to resort to some other cause, which is not only superfluous and undefinable, but of which the very existence is a subject of dispute. It is not to the mere use of the words

*conscience* and *moral sense*, that any objection is made by the followers of Paley : on the contrary, the terms are readily admitted to be extremely useful in the nomenclature of ethics. All that is affirmed is, that the faculty they are intended to designate is neither innate nor instinctive ; because, in the first place, such a supposition is not at all requisite ; and in the second place, it is destitute of substantial proof. We must not forget the rule of philosophizing laid down by Newton in his 'Principia,' that 'No more causes of the phenomena of nature ought to be admitted, than are known to exist, and are sufficient to explain their appearances.' " — pp. 42 – 44.

The author next takes up the objections of Mr. Gisborne, as set forth in his "Principles of Moral Philosophy," and shows that that writer's own theory is fraught with the same difficulties as those alleged against Paley's. The arguments on which Mr. Gisborne chiefly dwells, are derived from the alleged difficulty imposed, by those who make general expediency the criterion of virtue, on the inadequate faculties of man, and from the abuse to which the system must of necessity be constantly liable. But, as Mr. Wainewright shows,

"According to Mr. Gisborne's system, before any person can determine whether any particular action will best fulfill the purposes of his being, there are four points to be deliberately considered, — its tendency to promote the *final* happiness of himself, and that of his fellow-creatures, and then their *present* happiness, and his own. Now the extent of the examination here enjoined must undoubtedly exceed that which is required by *general expediency* ; and if the latter be supposed to be beyond the capacity of the human mind, it will scarcely be denied that the former must be still more so." — pp. 52, 53.

Not satisfied with turning back the whole force of the objection on its author, Mr. Wainewright meets it afterwards on its own merits. It should be premised that Paley and his followers would have us resort to expediency as a criterion of virtue only when revelation fails us, and then, for the most part, only for the settlement of general rules. Taking this view of the subject, he says : •

"But after all that has been advanced on the subject, the difficulty attending the theory of expediency has been greatly exaggerated. It is the observation, indeed, of the same able, I cannot say unprejudiced, Scotch moralist, that 'the discovery of this connexion between virtue and utility, is the *slow*

result of extensive and philosophical combinations; and would soon cease to have a foundation in truth, if men were to substitute their own conceptions of expediency, instead of those rules which are *inspired* by the wisdom of God.\* Surely this author cannot mean to say, that in all the more flagrant crimes it requires the *divine inspiration* to enable us to perceive their opposition to the well-being of society; or, that we must await the slow result of extensive and philosophical calculations, before we can ascertain their destructive tendency. Is it possible, in any state of society short of the grossest barbarism, not to be aware of the ruinous effects, for example, of murder, adultery, theft, and perjury? Or is there any difficulty in discovering, without either the aid of heavenly inspiration, or the delay of extensive inquiry, the advantages attendant upon honesty, temperance, compassion, and charity? And even in those doubtful cases, which sometimes occur in the affairs of real life, as well as in casuistry, neither the dictates of conscience, nor the intuitive suggestions which, according to Mr. Stewart, arise on the exercise of our understanding, supply a readier guide for our actions, than the consideration of their influence on the welfare of society." — pp. 57, 58.

Paley has been accused, and certainly with some reason, of being a lax moralist, especially on public duties. "It is a sin," says Mackintosh, "which easily besets men of strong good sense, little enthusiasm, and much experience. They are naturally led to lower their precepts to the level of their expectations." On this subject we will let the "Vindication" speak for itself.

"With regard to the passage in Dr. Paley's second volume,† represented both by Mr. Stewart and Mr. Gisborne as so highly objectionable, where it is affirmed that 'moral philosophy cannot pronounce that any rule of morality is so rigid as to bend to no exceptions'; whether it might have been expressed in a less decided tone, is a point which it is now needless to determine; but we may rest assured that the author never intended that it should be criticized in an insulated form, nor that it should be interpreted otherwise than in perfect conformity with the principles enforced in the rest of his work. That general rules are absolutely indispensable cannot be disputed; nor has any one enforced this truth with more earnestness, than the eminent moralist whose theory has so often been attacked,

\* Elem. Philos. of the Hum. Mind. Vol. II. p. 510."

† Prin. of Mor. Polit. Philos. Vol. II. chap. xii. p. 411."

with more zeal perhaps than discretion. The only question to be considered is, whether these rules should ever admit of exceptions; and I confess, that in my judgment, the affirmative may very consistently be defended." — pp. 58, 59.

This he illustrates by several examples, and among the rest by one furnished by Mr. Gisborne himself.

"But I hasten to an example afforded by Mr. Gisborne himself, notwithstanding his animadversions on the license allowed by his opponent. After asserting that 'restraints, the original imposition of which was unjust, may in some cases be continued consistently with justice,' he alleges as an instance in point, 'that the negroes already in the West Indies, though they have been reduced to slavery by the most unjust means, may be detained in that state as long as there is sufficient reason to believe, that, if emancipated, they would massacre the planters and seize the islands.' The truth of this position, I readily admit, will not be called in question, except by those who are governed more by a fanatical than a rational love of freedom. But why, we may ask, is the retention of the slaves here spoken of acknowledged to be just? For no other assignable reason, than because it is conducive to the welfare of the whole; that is, because this exception to the injustice of inflicting slavery, is, in the estimation of those who are best able to form a correct judgment, clearly *expedient*. Here, then, we have another exemplification of the truth of the assertion contained in Paley's chapter on War, respecting the utility of adhering to general rules: 'that situations may be feigned, and consequently may possibly arise, in which the general tendency is outweighed by the enormity of the particular mischief.'" — pp. 66, 67.

He adds:

"If it be said, and indeed it has been often said, that a system like this must be continually liable to abuse, I should wish to know if any other has been proposed that is exempt from this liability. The dictates of conscience, whether this faculty be innate or acquired, the consideration of the nature and fitness of things, and the suggestions derived from the exercise of reason, may all as easily be perverted to color the worst motives of the heart, and are equally capable of affording to mankind a ready 'apology for their deviations from the ordinary maxims of right and wrong.'" — pp. 68, 69.

Mr. Wainewright passes, in the Third Chapter, to an examination of Dr. Pearson's objections, contained in his "Remarks on the Theory of Morals"; and introduces the

subject with the following concessions in regard to Paley's definition of virtue, which, as it seems to us, are candid and ample.\*

"This definition was, in fact, borrowed from the last of the Essays prefixed to Archbishop King's work on the Origin of Evil; and it must excite surprise that, objectionable as it undoubtedly is, in more respects than one, it should have been retained by Dr. Paley in every successive edition of his *Moral Philosophy*, during his life-time. The author of those Essays, if he agreed, as he appears to have done, with Mr. Gay (who is known to have written the *Preliminary Dissertation* to the same work of the Archbishop), confined the appellation of virtue to those duties only which refer to our fellow-creatures. Those which regard ourselves individually, he classed under the name of prudence, and the actions which relate immediately to the Deity he termed religious. Hence it is plain why the two latter classes of duties were omitted in his definition. But this was not the case with Paley, who in the very next page adopts the threefold division of the moral duties commonly made use of by ethical writers; a circumstance, let it be observed, which prevents the student from experiencing any inconvenience from the defectiveness complained of. Again, we admit that in every definition of virtue, reference must be made to the rule or criterion; but this remark cannot be applied to the obligation, which ought to be kept entirely distinct. From the language of the definition before us, we might undoubtedly be led to infer that no action can be virtuous which does not *immediately* arise from the prospect of a future reward. That this, however, was not the meaning intended to be conveyed by Dr. Paley, is perfectly evident from his observations on *habitual* virtue, in the seventh chapter of his second book, to which I have already adverted. But, notwithstanding this explanation, I am free to acknowledge that a want of precision in defining the terms of science, frequently gives rise to errors for which the author is justly responsible." — pp. 71 – 73.

It is in reply to Dr. Pearson that our author enters at some length into the discussion of the difficult subject of moral obligation. According to Paley, "a man is said to be obliged, 'when he is urged by a violent motive, resulting

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\* Paley, in his *Moral Philosophy*, Book I. Chap. vii. says: "Virtue is 'the doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness.' According to this definition, 'the good of mankind' is the subject; the 'will of God,' the rule; and 'everlasting happiness,' the motive, of human virtue."



from the command of another'"; a definition which calls for further concessions and apologies.

"If," says Mr. Wainewright, "the work had been designed for any but those who embrace the Christian faith, it would be objectionable, I admit, to represent this motive as 'resulting from the will of another,' because, though obligation arises in numberless cases from that source, it may, nevertheless, proceed from some other. An unbeliever may consider himself obliged to practise virtue, because, generally speaking, it must be deemed to be the best means of securing *present* happiness; but to those who believe in the divine origin of Christianity, it must be perfectly clear that no conduct, however exemplary, could ever be instrumental in obtaining *eternal* happiness, without referring to *the will of the Deity*: he only has the power of conferring on mankind an endless futurity of bliss, and from his benevolent decree, therefore, must the chief motive to virtue derive its efficacy." — pp. 94, 95.

On the consideration which actually binds or obliges rational and moral agents, he observes:

"Notwithstanding the warmth with which Mr. Stewart condemns the practice of confounding *final* with *efficient* causes, they will yet, in morals, be found ultimately to coincide. He allows that the final cause of virtue is the happiness of the agent; and though it is true that the end is not always in our immediate contemplation at the time of action, it furnishes the only solution of the question, — Why are we obliged to comply with the duties enjoined by morality? There may be, and there undoubtedly are, many subordinate reasons which influence the mind; but from this source alone can be derived the final answer, beyond which we cannot proceed. To establish this position is the object which Paley has in view, when he discusses the nature of obligation; and it is only by a reference to the *end* of our creation, that a conclusive reply can be given to the inquiry. Why am I obliged, it may be asked, for example, to refrain from the commission of fraud? Dr. Cudworth would answer, Because the understanding informs us that it is right; if we consulted Hutcheson, his reply would be, Because it is the dictate of the moral sense; Hume would allege, Because it tends to promote the general welfare of society; and Warburton, Because it is the will of God. But why should I act in conformity with what moralists have termed rectitude? Why attend to the suggestions of conscience? Why consult the general welfare of mankind? Why obey the commands of God? There is no absolute incongruity, no con-

tradition, in proposing any of these questions ; and the only *satisfactory* answer which can be given is, that by so acting we shall secure our greatest possible happiness. To proceed farther, and to ask why we should pursue our happiness, does indeed involve a positive absurdity, because a capacity for enjoyment, and a consequent desire to obtain it, are, it is universally admitted, inseparable from the human mind." — pp. 96–100.

It is sometimes objected to Paley, that he restricts the motive, in which he believes obligation to consist, to the happiness of the life to come, without noticing the present advantages of virtue. The answer is, as before, that he always considered himself to be writing for those only who believe in the truth of revelation ; and, assuming Christianity to be true, our temporal happiness either coincides with our everlasting happiness, or else is to be made of no account in the calculations of one who would attain to the greatest amount of felicity on the whole. This may pass as a vindication of Paley's book, regarded merely as a practical work for the use of believers, but will hardly go to the extent of clearing it from all reasonable objections as a scientific treatise.

Next come the objections to Dr. Paley's principle of moral obligation, urged with so much earnestness in Dr. Brown's "*Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind*." This writer even goes so far as to say, in reference to a regard to everlasting happiness as the reason and foundation of obedience, that "the sensualist of the common system of selfishness, who never thinks of any higher object in the pursuit of the little pleasures which he is miserable enough to regard as happiness, seems to me, even in the brutal stupidity in which he is sunk, a being more worthy of esteem than the selfish of another life." There is no allegation which Mr. Wainewright manifests more solicitude effectually to repel and silence, than this. His words are :

"If we examine this charge of selfishness a little more attentively, its basis will appear to be devoid of solidity. In the first place, with regard to the present life, the system of Archdeacon Paley demands the sacrifice of every personal interest the moment it is found to *interfere* with the *higher duties* of our nature : and a strict compliance with general rules is imperatively required, at the risk of losing our dearest and most

valuable enjoyments. In the next place, though the prospect of happiness in a future existence is declared to be the ultimate motive of our conduct, it is not denied that the most elevated degree of virtue is that which is practised without any direct view to its ulterior consequences ; and if this opinion is not stated by Paley in these precise terms, it is sufficiently sanctioned by his observations on *habitual* virtue. After citing his own definition, he thus speaks : ' Yet a man shall perform many an act of virtue without having either the good of mankind, the will of God, or everlasting happiness in his thoughts. How is this to be understood ? In the same manner as that a man may be a very good servant, without being conscious at every turn of a particular regard to his master's will, or of an express attention to his master's interest ; indeed, your *best* old servants are of this sort ; but then he must have served for a length of time under the actual direction of these motives, to bring him to this.' " — pp. 116 — 118.

He contends, however, that in the present condition and circumstances of human nature a perfect disinterestedness is hardly to be expected, and that such a disinterestedness, in regard to the life to come, is by no means indispensable to moral excellence. For, he goes on,

" If the ultimate motive, derived from the expectation of a future existence, is justly condemned as selfish and degrading, then are we authorized to apply these epithets, in their fullest force, and with all the odium attached to them, to the *religion of Christ*. Future rewards and punishments are constantly presented to the view of its disciples ; and by these sanctions, every precept it contains, and all its exhortations to imitate the example of its divine founder, are powerfully enforced. There is scarcely a chapter in the New Testament in which some reference to the same end does not attract the reader's notice ; and if the disinterestedness contended for by Dr. Paley's opponents be indispensably requisite to constitute genuine virtue, it becomes a necessary inference, that the sacred writers have been guilty of the grossest errors, and that their followers have to the present hour been lamentably deceived. What sentiment more strikingly pervades almost every page of the Christian Scriptures, than that which is expressed in the following citation ? — ' For he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is the *rewarder* of them that diligently seek him.' If we read our Saviour's sermon on the mount, do we not perceive the same truth perpetually inculcated, the same exhortation to disinterestedness in this world, and the same ex-

citement of hopes and fears with regard to the next? To those who are persecuted and slandered, what is the motive which our Lord holds out to patient endurance, and even to exultation under the severest treatment? 'Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for *great is your reward in heaven*.' What is the language which he employs when exhorting his disciples to unostentatious charity, to frequent prayer, and to avoiding hypocrisy? 'Thy father which seeth in secret, shall *reward thee openly*.' And does not the sublime description which closes the twenty-fifth chapter of our first Gospel, speak as forcibly to the same effect, and hold up the most solemn promises and denunciations, as incitements to the practice of compassion and beneficence? Again, if we consult the Epistles, do we find that the first promulgators of the Christian religion, in their arduous efforts to benefit mankind, lost sight of their future reward? Were not the early converts of that faith urged 'to press toward the mark for the prize of their high calling,' and 'so to run the race that was set before them,' as to obtain,—not the mere approbation of their own consciences,—not the bare satisfaction of having acted in conformity with the fitness of things, with the principles of eternal rectitude, or with the suggestions of right reason,—but 'an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away?'" — pp. 121 — 124.

He maintains, that, if to be influenced by the prospect of retribution in another state of being destroys all virtue in human action, then must we suppose, that the heroism displayed at times by skeptics and unbelievers is decidedly superior, in a moral point of view, to that exhibited by the Apostles and Christian martyrs. He also shows, that Dr. Brown's own theory is, in reality, just as liable as Paley's to the imputation of selfishness, and much more liable to practical abuses; and concludes thus:

"Constituted as the human faculties and affections are at present, to endeavour to persuade the great mass of mankind, or, indeed, any but visionary speculatists, who never mingle in the business and tumults of the world, that they ought to practise virtue either exclusively for its own sake, or from no other motive than the feeling of approbation which it inspires in the heart, is, I cannot help believing, to the last degree, idle and preposterous. Did no other more powerful incitement exist; if men were to depend solely upon the guidance of an internal monitor, neither imperative in its dictates, nor uniform in its effects; if they were told that the only attainable recompense

for the noblest acts of generosity and valor, or the most painful exertions of forbearance and self-denial, would be the smiles of an approving conscience, 'we may venture to affirm,' in the language applied by Mr. Stewart to the theory of Dr. Paley, 'that there would not be enough of virtue left in the world, to hold society together.' Let the Stoics contend, that Regulus, in the midst of torture, and with no consolation but that which flowed from the conviction of his own worth, was equally happy with Metellus, possessed of all that prosperity could afford, or wisdom desire. The ethics of Christianity, I apprehend, enforced as they are by the hopes and fears of futurity, would be but ill-exchanged for the dowerless philosophy of the Porch." — pp. 136–143.

In the Appendix our author animadverts on some remarks of Dr. Whately, relative to the subject of the present inquiry, from which we shall give a single extract as containing every thing essential to our purpose.

"In a publication of acknowledged merit on the subject of logic, by Dr. Whately of Oxford, a very erroneous representation of Dr. Paley's principles is placed before the student, in a note on the ambiguities of the word *Reason*; sufficient to show how little consideration the former had bestowed on the system of Ethics against which his sarcasms are so injudiciously aimed. 'The moral faculty,' he observes, 'or power of distinguishing right from wrong, is one of which brutes are destitute. But then Dr. Paley, and some other ethical writers, deny it to man also. The description given by that author of our discernment of good and bad conduct (viz. as wholly dependent on reward and punishment) would equally apply to many of the brute creation, especially the dog.' In the first place, I must beg leave to reply to this observation, that the language of Paley can never be interpreted, even with the most forced construction, into a denial that man possesses the faculty of distinguishing right from wrong. It must be obvious, I should have thought, to every reader not prepossessed against the author, that he admits the *existence* of this faculty in its fullest extent; but respecting its *origin*, he undoubtedly differs most widely from those who contend for an instinctive or intuitive moral sense. On this question his opinions nearly coincide with those of Locke and Hartley. In the next place, Paley does not represent 'our discernment of good and bad conduct,' as dependent on the expectation of reward and punishment; nor has he in any instance confounded two points so essentially different, as the criterion and the obligation.

When men have acquired a *knowledge* of their duty from Scripture, or, where that is silent, from the tendency of actions to promote *the welfare of society*, what is the *inducement* which will be found paramount to every other in producing compliance? Paley answers, and, as I conceive, truly answers,—The prospect of an infinite reward in another state of being. Dr. Whately affirms, that this principle (the same in its nature, though not in its extent) is equally applicable to brutes; and he attributes to the dog a feeling of expectation tantamount to foresight, of which no facts hitherto adduced in natural history can be deemed a sufficient proof. Nothing, indeed, can be more certain, than that the dog and the horse are trained into regularity and habitual submission, by a course of early and often rigid discipline. Must we on that account, therefore, refuse to believe that the moral habits of the human race also are formed by salutary discipline, and can, in truth, be formed by no other means?" — pp. 171 – 174.

We have been liberal in our extracts from the volume before us, as it is not likely to be printed in this country, and its circulation here must consequently be very limited. We have risen from its perusal not satisfied in all respects, but yet more and more confirmed in the conviction previously entertained, that Paley's errors and faults as an ethical writer have been greatly exaggerated; and that they are chiefly referable to a want of the habit of careful and minute analysis and discrimination, to the particular and local purpose which he appears to have had in view in writing, and to a constitutional defect, which led him to make less account than he ought of the moral feelings and affections in speaking of conscience and duty. No work on the same subject has yet appeared, which is found to be so intelligible or so interesting to the young as Paley's *Moral Philosophy*; still if it is to be retained as a text-book in our schools and colleges, it is certainly right that the inconsistencies, pointed out and acknowledged by Mr. Wainewright himself, should be corrected, and those especially which have brought the moral tendency of his theory into question.

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We admit the following article as presenting an able view of the argument against the American Colonization Society. Though we differ from the writer in many of his positions, and generally in his opposition to the Society, we deem it right that our readers should be made acquainted with both sides of a disputed, and doubtless important question.

THE EDITORS.

ART. V. — *The American Colonization Society.*

THE American Colonization Society has become an institution of national importance, not so much on account of the actual results of its African operations, as because it has exercised, and continues to exercise, a powerful influence on public opinion. It was popular from its very outset, because its plans flattered the feelings of the people; it was respectable; for the names of good and great men, whom the nation delighted to honor, appeared on the list of its members; above all, it presented the first American scheme for the redress and improvement of a wronged and degraded race. Whatever was publicly said in its behalf came with great weight, for it had the sanction of distinguished divines, lawyers, and statesmen. The same arguments may still be truly alleged in its favor. Nay, more; it has lately been recommended to the confidence and patronage of the people by several of our ablest magazines and reviews. As, therefore, its operations are of acknowledged importance, they are fair subjects of investigation.

It is not our purpose to enter into the details of the early history of African colonization. A brief reference to prominent facts will suffice to illustrate the tendency of the system. It has been argued in favor of the American Colonization Society, that it merely follows the path marked out by certain enlightened English philanthropists; with what propriety will be seen. In 1796 several hundreds of slaves were set free in London by a decision of the judiciary, and soon became objects of compassion. The memorable Granville Sharp, assisted by the government, undertook to colonize them in Africa, and partially succeeded. There is little similarity between the condition of these poor people and that of American free blacks, who are the objects of the charity of the American Colonization Society. They were strangers in a climate to which they had not been accus-

tomed, among a people who knew them not, and whom they did not know. The case of the American free people of color is not so. All of them can support themselves in the land of their birth by honest labor. They are under none of the disabilities from which Granville Sharp wished to free the expatriated West India negroes. Again, the result proves Mr. Sharp's plan of amelioration to have been injudicious in the extreme. Out of four hundred and sixty persons first sent to Africa, but forty remained at the end of the year, the rest having perished or deserted. A second exportation increased the strength of the colony, which was nevertheless totally dispersed by the natives within less than a year more. Not to dwell upon the disasters of this unfortunate colony, it is admitted that more than one half of the people who have joined it have perished by famine, pestilence, and the sword. It will be evident to all who may study the subject, that the English colony at Sierra Leone has continued to exist almost in spite of fate; that the eighteen thousand inhabitants, said to have resided there in 1823, were not equal to the natural increase which might have been expected from those, whose bones fatten the pestilent soil; and that the power of Great Britain, as well as an enormous waste of life and treasure, have been requisite to keep the said settlement among the things that be. The results have been in no wise adequate to the means employed to produce them. Let the pages of Clapperton, nay, of "The African Repository," say how far the civilization of Africa has advanced. Surely, the fortune, or, more properly, the fate, of the unhappy colony of Sierra Leone ought to be an awful warning, rather than an encouragement, to American philanthropists. The reader will find this sad truth amply and ably demonstrated in an article on the American Colonization Society, in the July number of "The North American Review."

It is perhaps proper, while speaking of the history of American-African colonization, to say, that it originated in the legislature of Virginia; but as the measures of that honorable body had no practical result, we must attribute the birth of the Society now under consideration to the exertions of the Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey. We would not willingly misrepresent the American Colonization Society, or any other body of men. We might do so, did we look to the



reports of their enemies for data. We will, therefore, chiefly rely on "The African Repository," their avowed organ, for our facts.

The American Colonization Society began its being, under the auspices of Mr. Finley, in Washington, in 1816; and two years after, two missionaries visited Africa, in order to take the preparatory measures. One of them left his bones there.\* Twenty-seven of the first exportation (consisting of eighty-one persons) perished. In 1822, the poor remains of the colony were nigh being exterminated by the natives. [See "The African Repository," Volume I. Article I. for all these facts.]

We must not forget to mention the manner in which the land requisite for the proposed colony was obtained from the natives.

Dr. Ayres, who accompanied Lieutenant Stockton, states [5th Annual Report, p. 55,] that the native chief, who owned the land, was at first willing to sell. On the next day he had altered his mind. "Lieutenant Stockton's dexterity at mixing flattery with a *little well-timed threat*, turned all to our advantage." The bargain was concluded; a circumstance which Dr. Ayres considers as "a triumph not only over savage prejudice, but over European negotiation." Our treaties with the Indians, we suppose, are also matter of triumph. Now, considering that the *well-timed threat* only consisted of the presentation of Lieutenant Stockton's pistols at King Peter's breast, and that the said king was compelled to sign the treaty by the fear of immediate death, we cannot deny that savage prejudice was overcome, and we may certainly exult that an American pistol persuaded the native to a measure which European diplomacy had often tried in vain to achieve. As Dr. Ayres assures us, that a tract worth a million of dollars was thus obtained for little more than three hundred dollars, we may also compliment the American Colonization Society on the honesty of their agents.

We have no wish to pursue this discussion further. We now come to the result of the labors of the American Colonization Society. The Society has existed nearly sixteen

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\* This is a mistake. He died on the passage back, of a disease contracted in Liberia.

years. The number of persons colonized during that time is, if we may trust the late Address of the Managers, two thousand and sixty-one, exclusive of three or four hundred negroes recaptured from slave-ships. Six hundred and thirteen of these were slaves emancipated for the express purpose of expatriation. We are obliged to take the general statements of the Society on trust, for, though we have sought diligently for more minute information, we have found none. The Annual Reports do not enter into detail. It might be supposed that "The African Repository," which is published under the sanction of the Managers, would report every case of emigration, but such is not the fact. We have searched the first six volumes of that journal, page by page, and have found the departure of seventeen hundred and eleven persons only mentioned, some of these being white men. The "Repository" ought also to contain a record of deaths, which it does not; extraordinary mortality being always mentioned in general terms. However, we are enabled to draw logical inferences from general admissions. The article in "The North American Review," to which we have already referred, has these words: "The fact, that the population of the colony is now not far from two thousand five hundred,\* goes to corroborate the statements universally made by those who have had the best opportunities of observing the truth." That is, the present population of the colony is something less than two thousand five hundred, or about the number actually transported. A number equivalent to the natural increase of the emigrants must, therefore, have perished; which is certainly strong encouragement to the American free blacks to emigrate. Let it not be said that we have gone out of our way to notice the article in "The North American Review." It has, within a few weeks, been recommended to the confidence of the Boston public by the accredited agent of the American Colonization Society, a proof that persons in trust ought to be careful what they say.

The general fact we have just stated and proved shows, conclusively, that no colored person who values his life

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\* Since writing the above, we have had an opportunity to converse with Mr. Dailey, a highly respectable and intelligent Liberian merchant, who informs us that the colonists are not so many by some hundreds as here stated.

ought to emigrate to Liberia. The following table shows, that the colored people of the United States have almost trebled their number between 1790 and 1830. There were in

1790, 50,481 free blacks, in 1830, 319,467 free blacks,

" 697,697 slaves. " 2,010,527 slaves.

Therefore, if there be any truth in arithmetic, there should now be a great many more people in Liberia than there are, supposing that country to be as favorable to the multiplication of the human species as the United States. The result proves that it is not.

Eighty-three persons sailed for Africa in the first expedition. Twenty-seven of them died within a few weeks after they landed. Two years after, when the natives attacked the colony, thirty of the colonists only were able to bear arms. [See "The African Repository," Volume I. Article I.] All the rest were dead or disabled by sickness. These facts, stated by the official organ of the society, speak volumes.

We do not object against the cause of missions generally, or against the particular design to Christianize and civilize Africa, avowed by the American Colonization Society. Would to Heaven they might spread the glad tidings of the gospel from the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope, from Cape Mesurado to the straits of Babelmandel. Fain would we see the "sheik of spears" become the sheik of religion and the arts of life; fain would we know that Africa would, within our time, preserve and cherish her life-blood, instead of pouring it out on the scorched and accursed soil of slave-holding countries. Most especially do we hope that the germ, forcibly planted by Lieut. Stockton at Cape Mesurado, may take root, and flourish, and overspread the peninsula. It is time that the true ground of objection against the American Colonization Society should be understood; for it has been grievously misrepresented.

We object to the American Colonization Society; first, that the means it employs are wholly inadequate to the end it contemplates.

2dly, That it does not oppose, but rather encourages, the curse and scandal of our country; viz. negro slavery.

3dly, That it encourages the domestic slave-trade.

4thly, That it is the enemy of the United States, inasmuch as it contemplates the ultimate expulsion of our colored population, whose labor we cannot spare.

5thly, That it exercises a withering influence on the free blacks ; vilifying them on all occasions, and repressing their energies ; thereby fostering that unholy prejudice on the part of the whites, which has made the free colored people a degraded caste.

6thly, That it proposes to effect impossibilities.

7thly, That it induces the North and South to contribute to its funds by arguments diametrically opposed to each other.

8thly, That it is a needless national expense and burthen.

All this we expect to prove by reference to "The African Repository" and the Annual Reports. These are the true grounds of our opposition ; and we would have it distinctly understood, that we are not influenced in what we do by any enmity against, or dislike to, any member or members of the Society. On the contrary, we are disposed to think highly of a body, at the head of which stand such men as Robert Finley, Henry Clay, and Charles F. Mercer. Nevertheless, there is no virtue in great names to make us believe impossibilities, or bow before unholy altars.

We have said that the means employed by the American Colonization Society are wholly inadequate to effect its purposes. It will be proper, before we proceed to prove this assumption, to inquire what these purposes are.

The constitution simply says, that the Society contemplates the removal of the free people of color from the United States to Africa ; nevertheless, that constitution, like some others, has been construed in a variety of ways. The Second Annual Report hints at a suppression, or at least an amelioration of the horrors, of the slave trade, through the means of the Society. In the Third Annual Report, page 12, we find the matter again urged in the following terms : "The managers do not hesitate to pronounce on the utter impracticability of terminating the national dishonor by any efforts confined to the territory and shores of the United States."

"No truth is more susceptible of demonstration, than that the African slave-trade can be exterminated only where it originates." — *Third Annual Report*, p. 13.

"But should the expectation of the Board, that the slave-trade will soon be stigmatized by the unanimous decision of all the powers of Christendom as an offence against the law of

nations, be disappointed, much may be done towards its extermination by a colony," &c. — *Sixth Annual Report*, p. 16.

The same delusive hope is held up in every Annual Report and in almost every number of "The African Repository." We deny that the evil is to be attacked in Africa. The supposition is repugnant to common sense. To end the slave-trade we must persuade either the sellers or buyers to forego its profits. The sellers are ignorant barbarians; the buyers are members of enlightened communities. We may persuade or compel the latter to break up the market here. Over the sellers in Africa we have no power, moral or physical. The colony may, indeed, break up the factories within its immediate limits,\* but that is nothing to the purpose. The colony occupies less than three hundred miles of seacoast, while the other five thousand leagues of African shore constitute one extended mart for slaves. The reader will find the official acknowledgments of the Society, that the slave-trade has continually increased, ever since the beginning of their operations in the following places: African Repository, page 274; Ibid. Volume VI. page 345; Letter annexed to the Seventh Annual Report, page 52; Speech annexed to the Fifteenth Annual Report, pages xiii, xiv, and in five hundred other places, which we have not patience to seek or to quote.

Another purpose of the Society is, ultimately, to free the United States from their whole colored population. It is not necessary to prove that they aim at the expulsion of the free blacks, since that is the avowed object of their combination. We shall demonstrate that they design the removal of the slaves also. This bait is, probably, thrown out for the people of the free states. To slave-holders the Society speak a different language, as we shall show in the sequel. In the nineteenth page of the Fifteenth Annual Report, after some remarks of an unimportant nature we find the following opinion (of James Madison) quoted with unqualified approbation. We may therefore consider it an integral part of the report.

"Many circumstances, at the present moment, seem to concur in brightening the prospects of the Society, and cherish-

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\* Mr. Dailey informs us, that a slave-factory exists at the present moment within the jurisdiction of the colony.

ing the hope that the time may come when the dreadful calamity, which has so long afflicted our country, will be *gradually removed*," &c. &c.

"It [the American Colonization Society] tends, and may powerfully tend, to rid us *gradually and entirely*, in the United States, of slaves and slavery; a great moral and political evil, of increasing virulence and extent, from which much mischief is now felt, and very great calamity in future is justly apprehended," &c. — *First Annual Report*.

Let us not be accused of making garbled quotations. We cannot quote whole volumes, though we could give five hundred proofs of every thing we affirm, from the official documents of the Society. We pledge ourselves to do so, if challenged and permitted. However, it will suffice, for the present, and considering our want of room, to give a single proof of each point we advance.

We have shown that the American Colonization Society aim at the entire expulsion of the American colored people, who amount to about two millions and a half. Their annual increase is estimated at fifty-six thousands. "The African Repository" estimates the expense of transporting each individual at thirty dollars. It would, then, cost one million six hundred and eighty thousand dollars to transport the increase alone, which would merely keep the number stationary. To transport one hundred thousand annually, would remove the whole, probably, in thirty years, at the expense of ninety millions. This, too, supposes that the owners would give the slaves up without compensation. How likely this is to take place may be inferred from the fact, that, during the fifteen years the Society has been pursuing its operations, the vast number of six hundred and thirteen slaves have been manumitted for the express purpose of transportation. We are indebted for this conclusive fact to the number of "The North American Review" already mentioned.

The annual increase of the free blacks alone exceeds eleven thousand. It would require three hundred and thirty thousand dollars to transport that increase. The same obliging article informs us, that the American Colonization Society has possessed but about one hundred and forty-five thousand dollars since the earliest date of its existence.

In fifteen years, with the sympathies of the nation enlist-

ed in its behalf, with the partial assistance of the legislatures of more than half the states of the union, the American Colonization Society has been able to collect but one hundred and forty-five thousand dollars, and has transported but two thousand five hundred persons; very little more than the increase of a fortnight. There is no need to argue on these matters. Our assumptions are not theoretical speculations, but arithmetical computations, from the data furnished by these misguided philanthropists. If there is any truth in the science of numbers, we have proved that its means are wholly inadequate to one of its purposes, viz. the entire removal of the blacks, or even of the free blacks, from the United States.

We may add here, that even if the American Colonization Society had the means to transport the free blacks, these last are resolved not to be transported. All the logic of the American Colonization Society has been unable to convince them, that a country they never saw, whose language they do not speak, and whose climate is by many represented as deadly, is their native land. They believe that the country in which they were born is their own. Within the last year they have held at least twenty conventions, in all of which they have resolved not to forsake the land of their birth. In a word, the only way to get them to their *home*, as the American Colonization Society calls it, is compulsion.

Another object of the American Colonization Society is to civilize and evangelize Africa. We think this will not be denied, and therefore do not task ourselves to prove it. This is the only ground on which the measures of the Society are not, in our estimation, objectionable. Let us see how far they have succeeded. Two hundred and eighty miles of coast are occupied by two thousand five hundred persons, who live by their labor, and worship the true God. We are told that they live in comfortable dwellings, that commerce and agriculture flourish, and that they have an effective civil and military government. These reports come to us through persons deeply interested in the success of the colony; and it is no breach of charity to say, that their statements ought to be received with some little allowance. But these statements are confirmed by the testimony of several masters of ships and others, who have touched at

Liberia, who can have no interest to misrepresent the state of the colony. We are, therefore, willing to believe that the emigrants have, at last, overcome the worst difficulties. Still we are not told that an individual native has been converted or civilized. On the contrary, a letter from Dr. Mechlin, the governor, dated on the fourteenth of December last, calls for arms and ammunition, wherewith the settlers may defend their lives. This, if we consider that the colony is amply provided with the usual means of conversion, is rather singular. In a few numbers of "*The Liberia Herald*" which have come to our hands, two thirds of the advertisements are of ardent spirits and munitions of war.

Granting that the state of the colony is much better than we believe it to be, we would call the attention of our readers to a trifling inconsistency, on which we desire them to make their own comments. In every Annual Report, in every other page of "*The African Repository*," the free colored people of the United States are described as the most degraded race on earth, hateful in the sight of God and man, whose touch is pollution, and whose feet disgrace the very soil they tread. Nevertheless, these people, of whom we have heard an eminent colonizationist assert that the emigrants are the very worst portion, are to civilize and evangelize Africa.

"A colony of two thousand persons, firmly established, well-ordered, and well-governed; prosperous in trade; moral and religious in character; with schools and churches, courts of justice, and a periodical press; enlarging its territory, and growing in strength, respected by all who have visited it from Europe, and exercising a salutary and extensive influence over the native tribes, now offers an asylum to our free colored population and to our citizens, every means and motive for conferring freedom on those who enjoy it not, and imparting civilization and Christianity to Africa."

Such a colony the American Colonization Society would have us suppose theirs to be. The above extract is from the late circular published by the Managers.

"They [the free colored people] may be seen in our cities and larger towns, wandering like foreigners and outcasts, in the land which gave them birth. They may be seen in our penitentiaries, our jails, and poor-houses. [So may white persons, and many more of them.] They may be found inhabiting the abodes of poverty and the haunts of vice. But if we



look for them in the society of the honest and respectable ; if we visit the schools, in which it is our boast that the meanest citizen can enjoy the benefits of instruction ; we might also add, if we visit the sanctuaries, which are open for all to worship and to hear the word of God ; we shall not find them there." — *Review, appended to the Seventh Annual Report, and published under the sanction of the American Colonization Society.*

"Look here upon this picture, and on this." The wretches described in the last of these quotations are changed in the twinkling of an eye, by consenting to emigrate. The sea air removes the crust of their ignorance and the stains of their vice. They become the honest men and good citizens described in the first extract, the moment they set foot in Africa, and go forth converting and to convert. However, we may fairly say, that such means are inadequate to the purpose of the American Colonization Society under consideration.

We do not mean to be understood to deny that many of the free colored people, perhaps more than the American Colonization Society can find means to transport, are willing to emigrate. Still the fact remains unaltered and undeniable, that a very great majority are, heart and soul, opposed to colonization.

Having proved our first charge, with all its specifications, we proceed to investigate the second. This can only be substantiated by quotations, of which we have room for but two or three, from the Memorial of the American Colonization Society to the several states, published in "The African Repository" for April, 1826. We would ask no more explicit avowal of their friendship for the system of slavery.

"In pursuing their object, therefore, the Society cannot be justly charged with aiming to disturb the *rights of property*, or the peace of society. Your memorialists would refer with confidence to the course they have pursued, in the prosecution of their object for nine years past, to show that it is possible, without danger or alarm, to carry on such an operation, notwithstanding its *supposed* relation to the subject of slavery, and that they have not been regardless, in any of their measures, of what was due to the state of society in which they live. They are themselves chiefly slave-holders, and live with all the ties of life binding them to a slave-holding community."

"The Managers could, with no propriety, depart from their original and avowed purpose, and make emancipation their

object. And they would further say, *that, if they were not thus restrained by the terms of their association, they would still consider any attempts to promote the increase of the free colored people by manumission, unnecessary, premature, and dangerous.*"

"It seems now to be admitted that, whatever has any bearing upon that question, must be managed with the utmost consideration; that the peace and order of society must not be endangered by indiscreet and ill-timed efforts to promote emancipation; and that a true regard should be manifested to the feelings, and the fears, *and even the prejudices* of those whose coöperation is essential."

Our second charge is proved; but if the reader wishes to make assurance doubly sure, let him read the publications to which we have so frequently referred. He can scarcely open them without finding what has been said confirmed.

The American Colonization Society *does* encourage the system of negro slavery.

Wherever the labor of slaves is useful, the owners of the soil, unless withheld by moral scruples, or fear, will seek to obtain slaves. If a certain number are removed, the loss of their labor is felt. Thus a great number of slaves are annually taken from the western and more northern slave states to Georgia, where more are removed by suffering and ill usage, than in other parts. In like manner, when the American Colonization Society have removed a number from any particular district, others are necessarily sought to supply their places. Thus the domestic slave-trade is promoted. We will add but a word more on this head. A few weeks since, we heard a reverend member of the Society, and editor of a Colonization newspaper, acknowledge, in a public assembly, that the American Colonization Society *does* promote the domestic slave-trade, in the manner above pointed out. This, he said, was a mere collateral evil; probably meaning, that the amount of colonization labor was so small as not to be sensibly felt. Thank Heaven, that it is so!

If it can be satisfactorily shown, as we believe it can, that the complete success of the measures proposed and pursued by the American Colonization Society would be a mortal blow to the interest of the nation, it will be manifest that the said institution is an enemy, though unwittingly,

to the country. It acknowledges the intent to remove the free blacks, and the extract we have given from the First Annual Report shows, that it designs the removal of the slaves also. Now let us ask what constitutes the value of the Southern states. The great majority of their white inhabitants are not operatives, or producers of any valuable commodity. The sugar we dissolve, the tobacco we snuff, smoke, and chew, the cotton we wear, are not produced by their labor. The taxes they pay are, in fact, paid by their negroes. The votes to which they are entitled in the councils of the nation, come in large proportion from their negroes. Without their negroes they could not *eat*. Then, has the South any reason to desire the removal of its colored population?

Have we, of the free states, any reason to wish the expulsion of the Southern blacks? It is generally admitted, even by the slave-holders themselves, that the climate of the South is unfit for the white race. And supposing it were not, the present generation of whites are unfitted for manual labor by long habits of indolence, and by prejudice. They consider labor degrading. The removal of the blacks, therefore, would be the most serious evil that could befall them. It would be their ruin, for it is self-evident that the slaves constitute the principal value, strength, and political importance of several states. Remove the blacks, and New England must depend on foreigners for very many staples of commerce, and articles which have almost become necessities of life. Let us, then, hear no more of the entire removal of our colored population.

Some persons think there is no argument like that founded on analogies. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, there were more than one hundred and fifty thousand Jews in Spain, as much despised, though not so much oppressed, as the negroes are here. In 1492 they were expelled; — much as our American Colonization Society strives to expel our colored population. The consequence was the utter exhaustion of the royal treasury, and in 1509 the government was obliged to sell dispensations for indulgences on fast days, and permissions to receive and keep stolen goods. Spain was almost ruined; but other nations, especially England, profited by the labors of the oppressed Jews. Spain, two centuries ago, expelled

more than a million of industrious Moors. The wound she thereby gave herself bleeds yet. France expelled her Protestants, and thereby almost annihilated her own commerce and manufactures. Shall we follow these suicidal examples?

Can any country, and especially our own, than which none more needs an increase of population, spare two millions and a half of people? If we say that the labor of each individual black is worth to the United States twelve cents and a half *per diem* (taking, of course, the average), we think we shall not exceed the truth. Then, their labor is worth to us more than three hundred thousand dollars a day; more than a hundred millions a year. Supposing it possible to remove them all, can we afford to lose so vast an amount of useful labor? Let us remember, too, that in the event of an utter expulsion, we, of the free states, should be devoured, probably, by herds of white paupers from the South, whom the measure would have reduced to beggary. We say again that a society, which pursues measures with such inevitable results, as the mere ground rules of arithmetic will demonstrate them to be, is an enemy to the nation, to mankind.

We find in "The African Repository," (Volume I. page 68,) the following editorial remarks:

"There is a class, introduced among us by violence, notoriously ignorant, degraded, and miserable, mentally diseased, broken-spirited, acted upon by no motive to honorable exertion, scarcely reached in their debasement by the heavenly light; yet where is the sympathy and effort which a view of their condition ought to excite? They wander unsettled and unfriended through our land, or sit indolent, abject, and sorrowful, by the streams which witness their captivity."

The Editor does not here speak of ourang-outangs, Bushmen, or wild Hottentots, but of the free colored people of the United States. Perhaps the members of the American Colonization Society believe that the free colored people are such as are here described; if they do, they have certainly the right to express their opinion. Nevertheless that opinion has done the persons whom it regards great injury. It has extended and strengthened the prejudice which exists against them. The Annual Reports confirm it, "The African Repository" repeats it monthly, the orators of the Ameri-

can Colonization Society declaim upon the degradation of the objects of their charity, the press repeats and approves their words, the pulpit rings with them ; whenever a colored person is named, his (supposed) necessary ignominious condition and character are the concomitants of the discourse. Such iteration must have its effect. Our children hear clergymen and orators describe their colored playmates as an inferior race, and believe it ; grown persons find in their words an apology for abuse and uncharitable feeling. The blacks themselves, hearing themselves incessantly called blockheads and villains, either believe it, or lose heart and become such. It is clear that such continual abuse must have these results. If a father were to address his child thus, " My son, you are a thief and a liar, and never can be any thing else ; you are a dunce, and God and man will not permit you to be any thing but a dunce," and if he were to repeat this lesson daily and hourly, would not that child strive to make his words good ?

We deny that the free colored population, at least in the states without slaves, deserve such a character. " The African Repository," indeed, attempts, in several places, to prove their extraordinary vicious condition by quoting the reports of prison-discipline societies, from which it appears that there are more blacks than whites in our prisons in proportion to their numbers. Supposing the premises to be true, they prove nothing. We believe it will not appear, that there is more vice among the free blacks, than among the low and ignorant class of whites, if so much. Our instructed classes constitute the great majority of the people, and few indeed of them find the way into penitentiaries. Strike the balance between the remainder and the free blacks, and, we think, it will be in favor of the latter. A great proportion of the convicts in our prisons are of the laboring class of foreigners ; yet no one ever thinks of involving foreigners in one sweeping condemnation. The American Colonization Society never speaks of sending them *home to their own country*.

There are enough colored voters in the city of Boston to elect a common council man. They had no contemptible influence on the election of the present mayor. This fact implies some degree of intelligence and good character. There are in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston at least fifty associations of free colored people for the purposes of moral

and intellectual improvement. Last year, the free colored people held no less than twenty conventions, in different places, for the purpose of discussing the merits of the American Colonization Society, and it received a sentence of unqualified condemnation from them all, a circumstance which certainly argues no lack of intelligence. There are few of the free blacks who cannot read and write; fewer still who do not regularly attend public worship. They own and support many churches and clergyman. Many of them are really good scholars. The style, in which the proceedings and resolutions of their conventions are written, would not discredit any deliberative body. Notwithstanding that they are, generally, restricted to menial occupations, there are many of them in affluent circumstances. They own hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of property in Philadelphia. The property of James Forten, of Philadelphia, is estimated at upwards of fifty thousand dollars; the widow of the late Bishop Allen is not poorer. In 1830 there were more white paupers in Philadelphia than black ones, even in proportion to their numbers. The difference was more than two to one. We dwell the more upon their circumstances elsewhere, because every inhabitant of New England knows, that among us they are at least as well dressed, civil, industrious, and moral, as the white class who live by the same occupations.

It would be vain and false to deny that the free colored people are inferior, as a body, to the whites in almost every thing but politeness. Still, when we consider with what scorn they are treated, that they are excluded from the society of those by whose conversation and example they might most profit, that they are debarred from the advantages of our schools, and that they are not admitted into our churches but upon such terms as the lowest white would consider an insult, the marvel is, not that they are degraded in some degree, but that they are not utterly ignorant and corrupt. And we speak from personal knowledge when we say, that they are now, and have been making the most strenuous exertions to cultivate their own and their children's moral and intellectual capacities. Whoever attended the late African Minors' Exhibition, in Belknap Street Church, in Boston, went away fully satisfied of this fact.

To say that the free blacks are on a level with the whites

would be wholly absurd ; but to say they are such as the American Colonization Society represents them, is as false as God is true. It is as false, that their character and condition are inferior to those of the bondsmen of the South and West. Let it be considered that no slave has any motive for exertion but fear ; that he cannot, in many parts of the slave states worship his Maker, or obtain literary or religious instruction ; that the condition of the softer sex is one of almost indiscriminate prostitution and adultery ; that every person who wears a black skin is denied the protection of the laws, and cannot claim any thing, not even his or her own child, as a right ; and then let the reader decide, whether a people, who are exempted from all these evils and disabilities, can be inferior to, or on a level with, creatures so wretched.

In 1829 Mr. Rives delivered a speech before the Lynchburg Colonization Society, in which he spoke thus of the free colored people.

" They leave a country where no kind instructor, no hope of preferment, no honorable emulation prompts them to virtue or deters them from vice ; their industry waste, not accumulation ; their regular vocation, any thing or nothing, as it may happen ; their greater security, sufferance ; their highest reward, forgiveness ; vicious themselves, and the cause of vice in others ; *discontented, and exciting discontent* ; scorned by one class and foolishly envied by another ; thus and worse circumstanced, they cannot choose but move."

This speech is quoted with high commendation by the Editor, and therefore, we suppose, expresses his sentiments and those of the American Colonization Society. The gist of it is, what has been repeated on numberless occasions by the agents of the Society, that the free blacks excite discontent in the slaves, and stir them up to mutiny. But there is no truth in the assumption. No free colored person was implicated in the late insurrection in Southampton, or, as far as we have been able to learn, in any other. If Mr. Rives meant, that the sight of liberty enjoyed by their fellows would excite discontent in the bosoms of the slaves, he was, perhaps, right. The liberty of the planters themselves would have the same effect.

We think we have quoted enough to prove, that the American Colonization Society habitually vilifies the free blacks, and exercises an evil influence upon them.

We have already shown, from their own data, that the American Colonization Society, in pretending to remove the whole colored population, or even that part of it which is free, aims to effect an impossibility. We now proceed to set this fact in a stronger light.

The Society, in their Annual Reports, and through the "Repository," state the expense of transportation very low; at twenty-six dollars in one place, and at thirty in another. Now, it is admitted, that up to 1831 they had expended one hundred and forty-five thousand dollars, and transported two thousand five hundred persons. It is as clear from this as a sum in simple division, that the emigrants have cost them more than fifty dollars each. If, then, it would cost them ninety millions of dollars to transport all our blacks in thirty years, at thirty dollars each, it would cost one hundred and fifty millions of dollars to transport them at fifty dollars in the same time.

If we suppose that the owners are to be compensated, and that the two millions of slaves are worth two hundred dollars each, the cost of the success of their measures would be (taking out the value of the bodies of the free blacks) something more than five hundred millions of dollars. We flatter ourselves we have said enough to show, that the American Colonization Society reaches at impossibilities; but lest our logic or our computation should be faulty, let us listen, for a moment, to the Hon. Mr. Tazewell. This gentleman, in his report to Congress in 1828 on this subject, says:

"The expense of transporting such persons, &c. has been variously estimated. By those who compute it at the lowest rate, the mere expense of this transportation has been estimated at twenty dollars per head. In this estimate, however, is not comprehended the expense of transporting the persons destined for Africa to the port of their departure from the United States, or the necessary expense of sustaining them, either there or in Africa, for a reasonable time after their arrival. All these expenses combined, the Committee think they estimate very low, when they compute the amount at one hundred dollars per head. It has been estimated by some at double this amount; and if past experience may be relied on as proving any thing, the official documents formerly furnished to the Senate by the Navy Department, show that the expenses attending the transportation of a few captured slaves who have been returned to Africa by the United States, at the expense



of this government, *far exceeds even the largest estimate.* But taking the expense to be only what the committee have estimated it; then the sum requisite to transport the whole number of the free colored population of the United States, would exceed twenty-eight millions of dollars; and the expense of transporting a number, equal only to the mere annual increase of this population, would exceed seven hundred thousand dollars per annum." After a few unessential remarks, Mr. Tazewell proceeds thus: "The annual increase of the slave population is at least fifty-seven thousand. Now allow the same sum per head for the transportation of these persons, that has been estimated in the other similar case; and the sum requisite to defray the expenses of the transportation of all the slaves in the United States, would be one hundred and ninety millions of dollars; and that requisite to defray the expense of the transportation of a number only equal to their mere annual increase, would be five millions seven hundred thousand dollars per annum. But to either of these sums must be added the reasonable equivalent, or necessary aid, to be paid by the United States to humane individuals to induce them to part with their property. The committee have no data by which they can measure what this might be. But any sum, however small, will make so great an augmentation of the amount, as almost to baffle calculation, and to exhibit this project, at once, as one exceeding, very far indeed, any revenue which the United States could ever draw from their citizens."

So, if our calculations be extravagant, Mr. Tazewell, who is himself deeply interested in the question, being a slaveholder, more than bears us out in them. His report needs no comment of ours.

We have shown by former extracts, which are fully confirmed by the tenor of Mr. Tazewell's report, that the American Colonization Society does hold out to the public the hope of terminating the existence of American slavery, than which no prospect can be more agreeable to the North. Now, let our readers peruse the following extracts, and say whether the Society does not work upon the feelings of slaveholders by a contradictory argument.

"Is it not certain, that, should the people of the Southern states refuse to adopt the opinions of the Colonization Society, and continue to consider it both just and politic to leave untouched, a system, for the termination of which, we think, the whole wisdom and energy of the states should be put in requisition; *that they will contribute more effectually to the continu-*

*ance and strength of this system, by removing those now free, than by any or all other methods which can possibly be devised."* — *African Repository*, p. 227.

"Eminent individuals have, we doubt not, lent their aid to this cause, in expectation of at once accomplishing a generous and noble work for the objects of their patronage, and for Africa, and guarding that system, the existence of which, though unfortunate, they deem necessary, by separating from it those, whose disturbing force augments its inherent vices, and darkens all the repulsive attributes of its character. In the decision of these individuals, as to the effects of the Colonization Society, *we perceive no error of judgment: our belief is the same as theirs. We can unite with them to effect their object.*" — *African Repository*, p. 227.

If this editorial article is not as plain an avowal that the American Colonization Society secures and will secure the slave system, as the official organ could have made, we are ignorant of our mother tongue.

If we have proved, as we believe we have, that the objects of the American Colonization Society are not attainable, or desirable, it follows that that Society, levying contributions on the public, as it undeniably does, is a needless national expense and burthen.

It is the inevitable inference from the admissions of the Society, that a number of colonists, equal to their whole natural increase, have deserted or perished. It is also admitted, that the colonists have had wars with the natives, of whom a great number have been slain. If the settlement of Liberia cannot be effected without such loss of life, it ought to be abandoned at once. It appears, too, from Governor Mechlin's letter already mentioned, that these wars are likely to continue. No humane person, knowing these facts, can contribute to the maintenance of the colony. It may be said, indeed, that the natives are the aggressors; and it may be averred in reply, that the natives cannot tell us their own story, which would probably differ from that of the Liberian authorities. But be it even so; the colonists are at any rate the intruders, and had better stay at home, than shed the blood of others, or their own, in any quarrel, just or unjust.

If the question only regarded the settlement of Africa by men partially civilized; if the conversion and civilization of the peninsula were likely to result from it; if we believed

that these objects could be effected without a fearful waste of human life ; if the removal of slavery could be effected, even at the expense of voluntary expatriation, within any given time, however remote, we could cheerfully concur with the American Colonization Society, pray for blessings on its efforts, and contribute our mite to support it. If the increase of our colored population were fifty-seven thousand per annum, and the Society could assure us that they could transport fifty-seven thousand and one voluntary emigrants this year, and so continue annually to make the existing number one less, we would be the last to oppose it, though the measure would be injurious to the nation ; for we would have slavery abolished at whatever price, and we could then look forward to the time, two millions five hundred thousand years hence, when there would not exist an individual slave in this otherwise favored land. But while we know that a thousand are born where one departs, that the modest demands of the Society for funds sufficient to effect their objects, mean the not-to-be-imagined sum of five hundred millions of dollars, while they continue to injure the free blacks by calumny, while they uphold a system which all acknowledge to be a dreadful evil, while they promote the domestic traffic in human flesh, while they endeavour to reconcile principles as repugnant to each other as light and darkness, and while we have any claim to moral principle and love of country, we must continue to oppose them.

It is not the least of our objections to this combination, that its measures have a most powerful tendency to deepen and perpetuate the apathy with which most men regard the greatest curse the Almighty ever inflicted on a nation ; we mean negro slavery. Slavery is admitted by all to be wrong in a moral view of it ; pernicious and dangerous in a political one. It is so fast growing upon us, the late explosion has been so violent, and the ultimate consequences are so dreadful, that we cannot much longer refuse to attend to it. Many a man would be up and doing, but for the delusive tracts and orations of the Society and its advocates. "Take you no care," says the Society to the native of the free state ; "we are about to abolish slavery by removing the slaves to their *native land*." "Hold on," it virtually says to the slave-holder ; "lay on the whip ! rivet the shackle ! There is no danger, or, if there be, it proceeds only from the

free blacks, and, if you will help us, we will rid you of them." An orator, holding up two or three bits of old iron,\* exclaims, "Behold the chains employed in the slave-trade. Will you not give a portion of your abundance to abolish that abominable traffic." "Say nothing," says another, to one who would reason on the subject, "say nothing; let the system of slavery be ever so wicked, ever so dangerous, it is no business of yours. It concerns the South only, and by even mentioning the subject, you will offend your Southern brethren." All this and more is said and repeated in every colonization tract, in every colonization meeting, from every colonization pulpit. These arguments come with the sanction of great names; the multitude, having neither leisure nor inclination to examine them, take them on trust, and the speakers themselves reiterate them, till they believe them to be true. If we had no other objection to the American Colonization Society, this alone, that it tends to quiet or misdirect the public mind with regard to a subject of such terrible importance, would be sufficient.

We consider the American Colonization Society responsible for all the opinions expressed or printed in its behalf and with its sanction. For all the laws and measures which can be traced to its influence, it is responsible. Its moral responsibility is by no means confined to the words and deeds of the little organized band in Washington; if it were, we should hardly have given ourselves the trouble of writing this article. Thus, it is answerable for the effects of every opinion expressed in "*The African Repository*," its organ, whether editorial or not. If that journal were open to discussion, indeed, the case would be different. It is answerable for every one of the speeches and documents printed with the Annual Reports; if a master treats his slave ill, or if a mob persecutes a free colored man, or if a state passes savage laws with a view to compel the sufferer to avail himself of the means of escape it offers, the society is responsible for all. It gives occasion for the wrong; it is done at its instigation, and it aids and abets it. The accessory is always accounted as guilty as the principal. The Society is responsible for every act and word of every one of its agents, which it does not disavow. The principal, in

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\* This has actually been done, at least in one instance.

whatever act in life, is held, in law, accountable for the conduct of the authorized agent ; the suborner of perjury or murder is answerable for the crime of his tool, and we see no reason why the American Colonization Society should be absolved from a like accountability. We mean, by this, no reproach to any member of the Society, whose motives we sincerely believe to be good ; but merely to intimate that the shield its advocates hold before it will not serve. When we quote any thing said or printed under its sanction, we do not consider it invalidated by being answered, that, "such a thing was probably said by somebody somewhere."

We have, in our quotations, been careful, in most instances, to refer to the bodies of the Annual Reports and the editorial matter in "The African Repository," which are generally more guarded in their language than their *addenda*. If the reader should consider the Society responsible in the manner and degree we have above assumed, and will take the pains to wade through the mass of which we are just now heartily tired, he will find that the American Colonization Society have made out a much stronger case against themselves than we have stated. There is scarce a page that does not contain more than one striking proof of some of the positions on which we have grounded our argument. If we had quoted much more than we have, the reader would have laid down the matter in hand with as much disgust and weariness as we shall do.

How much time is necessary for an experiment ? The American Colonization Society has been in operation almost sixteen years, and not one of its objects has been effected. The abolition of slavery is as far off as ever ; the number of slaves, and even of free colored people, has not diminished ; on the contrary, it has more than doubled ; the civilization and evangelization of Africa remain stationary. In short, the labors of the Society have not been felt, save by the free blacks, who positively refuse to accept such evidences of friendship. Experience has written judgment on this institution as plainly as the Almighty hand wrote "TEKEL" on the palace wall of Belshazzar.

We have touched on the subject of slavery only so far as was necessary to display the deceptive measures of the American Colonization Society ; but we apprehend that we

might go farther without impropriety. The slave system is acknowledged, even by the American Colonization Society, to be an evil of enormous magnitude, of which necessity only can justify the continuance. Many good people, who admit this truth in the abstract, are withheld from acting upon the conviction by the arguments of the American Colonization Society. They are willing to abolish servitude, provided it can be done without injuring or displeasing the masters, or, in short, provided all difficulties can be entirely removed. The article in the constitution of the United States, which, it is pretended, recognises slaves as property, is a bugbear to many. We think, that if the said article does indeed guaranty the continuance of slavery, it is null and void in its very nature; and if it is not, that it ought to be, and can be, altered. No human law can authorize crime. Then, the slave system is *our* business, whatever the American Colonization Society may say to the contrary. The land

“ where bastard freedom waves  
Her fustian flag in mockery over slaves,”

is ours; the reproach is ours. We offer a market for the produce of slave-labor, without which the slave-system could not continue a week. But there is a more cogent argument than these. When the able-bodied men of the South shall be called upon to suppress insurrection, as, judging from late events it is not impossible they may be, they will find, though too late, that this matter is their business.

When we desire the abolition of slavery, we mean not that the slaves should at once be placed on a level with ourselves, or admitted to an equality of political privileges. We do not mean that the planter should give up his lands. We mean only, that man should not be the property of man; that the bodies and souls of men should not be at the disposal of arbitrary caprice, that the honor of woman should be protected, and that the laborer should receive his hire. It seems to us, that the slaves might be free, to this extent, without danger to themselves or us. Analogy confirms us in our opinion. None of the states which have freed their slaves, have suffered from their revenge. When the French Directory freed the slaves in St. Domingo, in 1793, the measure produced no evil. The slaves continued to labor, for hire, eight years,

peaceably. It was not till 1801, when Bonaparte would have rivetted their chains anew, that they began a war of extermination. Oppression is necessarily a cause of revolt : results always follow causes ; take away the cause and the effect ceases. It seems to us as clear as the sun's light, that if we remove the cause of revolt, no revolt will take place. Be the danger of emancipation what it may, there is danger, great danger now ; and the subject at least deserves consideration. It is our imperative duty to do what we may to prevent a second Southampton tragedy. Much more we could say on this topic, but we have already exceeded our limits.

It may be said, and the American Colonization Society do say, in a hundred places, that such discussions are out of place here. The doctrine of abolition, we have frequently been told, ought first to be preached in the South. So it should, if the South would but listen. But he who shall preach abolition in Savannah once, will preach but once. And for the effect of his preaching, he might as well go into a church-yard and say "Arise, ye dry bones !" No, the slave-system must be put down by public opinion. When the majority of the people think that it ought to go down, it will go down. Therefore, what is said on the subject here is not thrown away.

We have lately seen many articles in our best periodical journals in favor of the American Colonization Society. No doubt, they are well written ; they appeal to the best feelings of the community, no doubt. Still, in our humble opinion, they are not, as they contain scarcely a word of argument, worthy of a reply. We prefer to try the American Colonization Society, by the data themselves have furnished. We must be permitted to say, here, that if we have made any erroneous statement, if we have drawn false conclusions in any instance, the error is of the judgment, not of intention. We have devoted much time and study to this subject, we have labored diligently to come at the truth, and if we have failed, our conscience, at least, is clear.

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[For the Examiner.]

ART. VI. — *Meaning of עולם. Third Letter from the Rev. Mr. Goodwin.*

HAVING presented the result of such an examination of *αἰών* and *αἰώνιος*, in ancient classic Greek, as my means and opportunities have allowed me to make; it is my purpose, now, to exhibit the view which I have taken of the Hebrew עולם; to which those Greek words correspond in the Septuagint, so uniformly, that, with proper exceptions, it may be said, they *always* do so.

My principal object, in the Greek inquiry, has been to ascertain,

1. Whether *αἰών* signified *eternity*, and *αἰώνιος* *eternal*.  
2. Whether these words signified *spirit* or *spirituality*, and *spiritual*. And 3. Generally, what these words did mean in ancient days. The result of that inquiry is before you.

I keep the same object in view, in regard to עולם. But I abstain from investigating all the varieties of import in this term; it being my principal object to investigate these two meanings, — *eternity*, which is commonly thought to belong to it, — and *spirituality*, which, I believe, belongs to it more frequently, and more extensively than any other meaning.

It may be sufficient to observe, in general, that, as we might expect, so we actually find almost all the meanings of the classic *αἰών* in the Hebrew עולם, either in the substantive or adjective form. These have been, already, sufficiently stated and explained. Suffice it to say, that the observations made on the former word apply equally to the latter, with such variations as the nature of the case may indicate, and will be, hereafter, brought to view.

It is often well, however, to make, in the outset, an explicit statement of one's opinions on the subject in hand, in order to render subsequent remarks more readily intelligible. Admitting, therefore, in a general sense, and with proper exceptions, the different meanings of the classic *αἰών* in the Hebrew term, I observe in particular:

1. עולם does not contain within itself a positive sense of *duration*. That sense may apply to it, or not, as circumstances indicate, in each case.



2. When it does refer to *duration*, its force is no greater than that of the English words, *enduring*; or *ancient*; or *future*; like the Latin *olim*, or the old English *whilom*, both of which are its undoubted descendants. In such instances, the *enduring*, &c. may or may not be *eternal*, as the subject shall decide.

3. In many instances it signifies that which is *concealed*, *occult*, *mysterious*, *sealed*, either, so as to be *hidden*, simply; or so, that the thing sealed is *hidden* from all but the sealer, and yet, when laid open, is known, by the signet, to be that which he hath sealed and designated for a particular object. I add this last clause, because of what Schultens states concerning this word, with reference to an Arabic term which he thinks radically associated with it, compared with Vriemoet's\* discussions of the same; and the whole compared with the usage of this noun, and of the noun על, in which this meaning is very evident.

4. It often signifies *extent*, or *extremity*, *thoroughness*, *per-vading*, *reaching to the extent of possibility*, &c.; like the Greek *τέλος*, or the Hebrew *אֵלֶּם*, which latter word is often rendered *τέλος* by the Seventy.

5. I know of no instance, in which על signifies *spirit* in that *personal* sense which appears at times in the classic *αἰὼν*; nor any in which it signifies *spirit* as the *vital principle*.

But in very many instances it signifies *spirituality*, considered as *state*, or spiritual mode of existence, perception, action, suffering, or enjoyment, somewhat in a sense similar to that in which Plato employs *αἰὼν* in the *Timæus*. Perhaps both he and his Locrian friend gathered this shade of import, for this word, from some Greek translation of the works of Moses or the Prophets. But this matters not.

On the sense of *spirituality*, now named, it may be necessary to explain more at large.

The *τὸ τῶν λόγων ἀσθενές* [the infirmity of words] was a subject of complaint as long ago as the days of the Athenian sage, especially in regard to spiritual things. Insomuch that he makes one of his Dialogists say, "While many are saying many things concerning the gods and the generation of the universe, you need not wonder, O Socrates, if I can-

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\* Ad Dict. Class. &c.

not, in all respects, set forth those words which declare these things exactly. But if I produce nearer resemblances than another, you ought to be glad; remembering, that I, speaking, and you, the judges, partake of human nature. So that no more should be required of them [my words], when they produce a resemblance of the things.\*

After a similar manner, Proclus, in his commentary: "We speak *concerning* them [the gods]; but we do not speak the *aurò*, or the very thing *itself*, which each of them is. If the discovery is a silent energy of the soul, how can speech, flowing through the mouth, be sufficient to lead into light that which is discovered, such as it truly is?" Thus, likewise, speaking of the Divinity: "How, having thus discovered him [i. e. by a spiritual energy], can that which is seen be told through nouns and verbs, and communicated to others?"†

If men like these experienced a deficiency in words for expressing spiritual subjects, and craved favor for such as they might use, surely I may be allowed a similar privilege, when the subject I would describe is *spirituality* itself. Claiming this privilege, I will explain the term, in my usage, as accurately as I may.

By *spirituality*, then, I understand that *state* or form of existence, in which thought, affection, volition, and consciousness abide and act; not as appertaining, particularly to any individual, but as what, in proper extent, is common to all beings possessing a spiritual nature.

In regard to the Divine Being, I would reverentially say, that this *state* is inseparable from himself; inasmuch as all thought, affection, volition, and a consciousness of all things, are and must be present and vital with him; so that his *LIFE* is a self-containing and all-comprehending *SPIRITUALITY*. *Spirituality*, in the abstract, is the realm [kingdom] of God, which before man can see he must "be born of *SPIRIT*."

In regard to finite beings, *spirituality* can be contemplated only as what is called *realm* or *region* of *mind*; a *state* in which (apart from material association and external influence) thoughts, affections, volitions, and consciousness exist and reign.

As to *man* in particular, *spirituality* can be contemplated

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\* p. 29. C. Timæus.

† Taylor's Trans.

only as that *state* in which *soul* assumes and exercises all power, even to the dethroning and often to the present casting away of flesh and blood. So that man, when absorbed into his spiritual realm, is not always (any more than the great Apostle once was) conscious whether he is "in the body or out of the body;" and this, whether he be occupied in intellectual speculation, fervor of affection, decision of will, or simple consciousness, or all these united in one. It is the *state* in which (so far as we can apprehend it) "the perceiver and the thing perceived are one and the same." Hence it may be appropriately called by the comprehensive name *existence*, which, I believe, was done by the ancients.

I have here exhibited as accurate a description as I can of what I mean by *spirituality*. I could have wished to find more precisely descriptive terms. But I will hope, as it is, to have explained the word so clearly, that important mistakes may be avoided, and trust that any defects may be supplied in the progress of the investigation.

I now affirm, that one of the meanings of עולם, in the Hebrew Scriptures, is *spirituality*, and, as an adjective, *spiritual*; considering the latter term to sustain all the relations to the former, which adjectives in general sustain to their respective nouns. The words have other meanings, which may claim a share of remark; but it is these which I propose to discuss in particular; inquiring, of course, while we go on, as we necessarily must, whether they mean *eternity* or not.

My evidence for the meaning of עולם here affirmed, I propose to produce under the following heads:

1. The meaning of *αἰών* and *αἰώνιος* in classic Greek.
2. The etymology of עולם, including the usage of the verb עָלָם, from which it is derived.
3. The usage of the noun עולם, when not considered by philologists as interchanged with עָלָם.
4. Lexicography.
5. The usage of עולם itself.

FIRST. The meaning of *αἰών* and *αἰώνιος* in classic Greek.

The evidence is complete, so far as the witnesses testify at all, that the one never expressed *eternity*, nor the other *eternal*, in their proper language. The Seventy were both Greek and Hebrew scholars, well acquainted with both languages, and with the terms and idioms in the one most near-

ly correspondent to those in the other. These they undoubtedly employed, in all cases where it could be done. They uniformly make use of *αἰών* or *αἰώνιος*, in which there was *no* sense of *eternity*, for translating עולם. The inference is irresistible, that they perceived *no* sense of *eternity* in that Hebrew term. So far, then, as the Seventy are authority, so far it is plain, that עולם did not signify *eternity* or *eternal* in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Again, — The evidence of a *spiritual* import in *αἰών* and *αἰώνιος* in classic Greek, is before you. I think it will not now be denied, that these words sustained such a meaning. So far, it appears that the Seventy perceived such a sense in עולם; and so far, we have their authority for believing that this Hebrew word contained the meaning in question.

Also, — It is worthy of remark, that while all the Greek classics produced, employ *αἰών*, to a greater or less extent, in the sense of spirit, as the *vital principle* or *life*, the later ones, as Plato, Aristotle, and Euripides, employ it, occasionally, in a sense more nearly like what I have called *spirituality*. This may be seen by recurring to the passages produced from those writers. In Plato this meaning is predominant over all others. Whether they gathered this shade of import for this word from Greek translations of any part of Moses or the Prophets, is a question which cannot now probably be solved. But the appearance of this meaning in this word in the classics, when discoursing of spiritual things, as we approach nearer to the days of the Seventy, is no small evidence that the Seventy perceived the same sense in עולם, when they employed *αἰών* and *αἰώνιος* as its *equivalent*. This holds good, whether the sense of *spirituality* passed first from Hebrew into Greek, or whether *αἰών*, already possessing this meaning in its own tongue, was employed as the equivalent of the Hebrew word. In either case, we have the authority of the Seventy in support of the sense of *spirituality* in עולם.

My SECOND evidence is ETYMOLOGY, including the usage of the radical verb.

עולם is derived from the verb עלם. The meaning of that verb, therefore, is of much consequence in the present inquiry, inasmuch as it is the habit of the Hebrew language to derive its nouns from concise verbal roots, the meaning of which roots is habitually diffused, in various measures, through the branches.

This principle, it is granted, has been sometimes carried to a fanciful extent; farther than truth warrants. Nevertheless, it prevails so far, that we commonly expect, and have a right to expect, to find more or less of the meaning of the root in its derivatives.

Now, על is so directly a derivative from על, that it might be its participle in Kal in case of necessity. It is therefore of importance to investigate the meaning of this verb; and on this topic I must enlarge.

The meaning of the verb על is to *hide*, to *lie hid*, to *conceal*. I would have you here take notice, that this verb, על, is not, by any means, the common word, in ancient Hebrew, for expressing *hiding* or *concealment*. On the contrary, it very seldom occurs in the Scripture. But wherever it is used, the concealment expressed by it always has reference to an *act* or *state* of the *mind*. There is no case, so far as I can ascertain, in which על, in any of its forms, signifies the hiding of any thing by *casting a material covering* over it. When it is the object of the writer to express a hiding under something *material*, as when Rahab *hid* the spies with stalks of flax, or as when one *hid* a girdle in a *hole in the rock*, other and different words are employed, as נָסַךְ &c. But על always refers to an act or state of the *mind*, i. e. a *spiritual* act or state.

If I have counted right, and detected all, this verb is employed to represent *concealment* or *hiding*, and is so translated in the English version, twenty-three times. There may be a few cases which have escaped my search; but if so, they must be very few; not enough to affect the habitual meaning of the word. I except, of course, any instance, if such there be, in which it is not translated in this sense, and those in which it is translated in any form but that of the verb or the participle.

As I must "prove all things," I will now produce the instances; premising, that in the following quotations from Scripture, where the word *hide*, or some form of it, is printed in *italics*, the original exhibits some form of על. They are as follow:

Levit. iv. 13. "If the whole congregation of Israel sin through ignorance; and the thing *be hid* from the eyes of the assembly, that they have done somewhat against any of the commandments of the Lord," &c.

Levit. v. 2. "If a soul touch any unclean thing . . . . and it be *hidden* from him ; he also shall be unclean and guilty."

Levit. v. 3. "If he touch the uncleanness, . . . . and it be *hid* from him ; when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty."

Levit. v. 4. "If a soul swear . . . . and it be *hid* from him ; when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty."

Numb. v. 13. A woman's adultery . . . . "if it be *hid* from the eyes of her husband."

In these five instances the נָעִל [hidden] refers, entirely, to the mind of the persons concerned. It consists, altogether, in their *ignorance* of an existing fact. But *ignorance* as to an existing fact, especially where such ignorance touches the relation of man to his Maker, amounts to something positive. It is a positive *state* of the *mind* ; i. e. a *spiritual* state.

Levit. xx. 4. "If the people of the land *do* any ways *hide* their eyes from the man, when he giveth of his seed unto Molech."

Deut. xxii. 1. "Thou shalt not see thy brother's ox or his sheep go astray, and *hide* thyself from them."

Deut. xxii. 3. "In like manner shalt thou do with his ass, and so shalt thou do with his raiment ; and with all lost thing of thy brother's, which he hath lost, and thou hast found, . . . . thou mayest not *hide* thyself."

Deut. xxii. 4. "Thou shalt not see thy brother's ass or his ox fall down by the way, and *hide* thyself from them."

1 Kings x. 3. "There was not any thing *hid* from the king, which he told her not."

2 Chron. ix. 2. The same.

2 Kings iv. 27. "Her soul is vexed within her, and the Lord hath *hid* it from me."

Job xlii. 3. "Who is *he that hideth* counsel without knowledge ?"

Ps. x. 1. "Why *hidest* thou thyself ?"

Ps. lv. 1. "*Hide not* thyself from my supplication."

Prov. xxviii. 27. "*He that hideth* his eyes shall have many a curse."

Is. i. 15. "*I will* hide mine eyes from you."

Is. lviii. 7. "That thou *hide not* thyself from thine own flesh."

Lam. iii. 56. "*Hide* not thine ear."

1 Sam. xii. 3. "Of whose hand have I received any bribe to *blind* [sc. *hide* or *cover*] mine eyes therewith ?"

Ezek. xxii. 26. "Her priests . . . . *have hid* their eyes from my sabbaths."

Nahum iii. 11. "Thou shalt be *hid*."

In these seventeen instances, the *hiding* represented in the three from Deuteronomy, consists, not in an outward act of concealing the person, but in casting the case of distress or loss out of mind; *covering the mind*, so as to be conscious of no duty to be done, and of no necessity of rendering assistance. Such *hiding* is an act of the *mind*, a *spiritual* act. If you are not satisfied with this (although I see not how it can be denied), let them pass, as cases in which some little doubt may be admitted. In the other fourteen instances, the reference to a *spiritual* act or state is too manifest to admit the least doubt.

Here, then, are twenty-two instances of סָלַח the verb, used to express *concealment*. Nineteen of these unequivocally represent an act or state of the *mind*, either in man or God; and the other three most probably, I think certainly, do the same.

I know of only one other instance, in which this word is employed to express *concealment*, according to the English translation :

Job vi. 15. "The stream of brooks . . . . which are blackish by reason of the ice, and wherein the snow *is hid*."

This passage is susceptible of, and has received so many interpretations, that one may be justified in neglecting [hiding one's self from] it altogether. The meaning, however, seems to me to be on this wise; that, within the flowing brooks, the snow vanishes from perception, and is so concealed within dissolving water, that it is no longer discernible as snow. That which constituted it *snow* is lost to perception within that which now constitutes flowing streams. We know not what has become of it. The case may be laid aside, as too solitary and uncertain to have influence in the present inquiry.

I have not been able, with such aids as I possess, and after diligent inquiry, to detect any other instances of the use of סָלַח, the verb, in the Hebrew Scriptures. I do not believe that any others exist. If there be any, they must be very few. It may be allowed to assume the foregoing as exhibiting, therefore, a complete view of the usage and meaning of this verb.

I have been thus particular to produce all the discovered instances of this verb, because it is the root from which

both **כִּלְי**, as a noun, adjective, or adverb, and **כִּלְיָא** are derived.

There are other verbs in that language, which signify to *conceal* or *hide*, and are employed to represent *hiding* in what may be called the outward act, as well as sometimes to represent spiritual *concealment*. But **כִּלְי** is never employed to express concealing by means of any material envelope. It habitually, not to say *uniformly*, represents an act or state of the *mind*, either in man or God ; i. e. a *spiritual* act. The **כִּלְיָא** is, in all cases, nearly the same as the *latens* of the Latins, and the *τὸ λανθάνον* of the Greeks. It invariably leads you into the spiritual realm of the person, with reference to whom it is used, and gives you to see the inward act or inward state of his soul. In other words, it represents a secret, spiritual act, or a secret, spiritual state. The inference is direct, that the Scriptural writers employed this word with the specific design of representing such a *spiritual* act or state, whether in the mind of man or the supreme Divinity ; and that they so employed it, because it contained in itself a spiritual meaning, having reference to an act or state of the mind.

Professor Stuart admits, that **כִּלְי** “ does mean to *hide*, to *conceal*.” Did it never occur to him, that the *hiding* expressed by this verb is an act or state of the mind, and is therefore *spiritual* ?

Derivatives from this verb ought, according to the customs of the language, to have part in the same meaning, saving in those cases, where it is evident that the derivative has lost this peculiar part of the sense of its original. Instances of such change occur in all languages. We ought therefore to expect, that, in regard to a word originally signifying *concealment by an act or state of the mind*, its derivatives will sometimes retain the sense of *concealment* alone, without retaining that of the spiritual state or act ; others will retain the meaning of the spiritual state or act only, without expressly associating with it that of *concealment* ; and others again will retain both, as subsequent custom shall ordain among the people using that language.

The last I believe to be the fact with respect to **כִּלְי**. In some instances its derivatives express simple *concealment*. But in by far the greater number they imply *concealment, associated with an act or state of the mind* ; in other words, they



imply, to a greater or less extent, *spirituality*. This, I trust, will appear in the progress of the discussion.

My THIRD evidence, in the case, is the USAGE of the NOUN עֵלַי, in those instances where it is not considered by philologists as interchanged with עֵלַי. It represents something *hidden, mysterious, or unknown*; the *hiding or secrecy* referring, in most if not all instances, to an act or state of the mind; i. e. a *spiritual* act or state.

The same is the truth with respect to those verbal forms of this word which are used as nouns. For convenience' sake I speak of all these as nouns, and under the common name עֵלַי; which may be sufficiently explicit for the present purpose. This, it is trusted, will not be thought taking too great a liberty with the Hebrew, by those acquainted with the verbal structure of that language.

The noun עֵלַי is interchanged occasionally with עֵלַי, sufficiently often to show their near affinity, both in derivation and import. The use of this noun, therefore, where it is not considered as thus interchanged, will, if it can be ascertained, be of great service in ascertaining that of עֵלַי.

It signifies, as I have said, something *hidden, mysterious, or unknown*, with reference to an act or state of the mind. It is so used, particularly, with respect to David, — 1 Sam. xvii. 56. From the history I gather the following as a fair statement of the case.

David, an unknown shepherd boy, appeared, as it were by miracle, upon the field of battle, and offered himself as a champion against a giant armed for war. He was introduced to the king; and a conversation ensued between him and Saul. In this conversation, David evinced a straight forward simplicity of mind, a stern confidence in the presence, power, and protection of the living God, and a ready purpose to encounter the uncircumcised Philistine, nothing doubting that Jehovah would render him victorious.

Saul, on the contrary, evinced astonishment at what he deemed the idle proposal, and utter incredulity as to the result. He could scarcely think David serious in what he said. Nevertheless, he seems to have been disposed to let the trial be made, if David really intended to do it; inasmuch as the death of a mere lad, if he should fall, would bring no glory to the conqueror, and would attach no disgrace to the *warriors* of Israel.

Seeing also the sincerity and decision of purpose evinced

by the lad, he seems to have entertained some slight idea, that David might possibly be moved by a divine impulse to do this. A distant, shadowy perception of the risings of a young inspiration, in the youth chosen of God, appears to have glanced for a moment on the mind of Saul. He therefore told him to go, and said also, "Jehovah be with thee."

But he was still so incredulous as to the possibility of David's success, that, in order to convince the lad of his utter incompetency for such an encounter, he threw his own gigantic armour\* over him, apparently as a preparation for the battle, but really to prove to David his own weakness. Under this mass of brass and iron David could not move. He does not appear to have suspected Saul's design. But only perceiving the weight of the armour to be too great for him, he said with all simplicity, "I cannot go with these, for I have not proved them" [I am not experienced in them]; and having laid the whole aside, he went down upon the field with a sling and stone, and conquered in the power of the Highest.

Saul seems to have thought, that, after the trial of the weight of his armour, David would have been convinced of his insufficiency, and would have retired silently from the scene. He expected to see and hear nothing more concerning him and his proposal. When therefore, in opposition to all this, he saw him go down, actually, to meet the Philistine, whom no *man* dared encounter, his astonishment was wrought to the highest pitch.

He evidently doubted, at that moment, whether David was an inhabitant of this world, or had descended from above, to help the people of Jehovah in their present emergency. He therefore made haste to inquire, whether he in truth was a son of any family in Israel. "Abner," he exclaimed in amazement to his chief officer, "whose son is this youth?" Abner, in equal amazement, replied with an oath, "As thy soul liveth, O king, I cannot tell." On which Saul exclaimed, "Inquire thou, whose son the *mysterious existence* [העלם, the unknown] is." Or, as it might be said with equal truth to the original, "Ascertain thou, is this *mysterious existence* the son of any one?" [שאל אהרן בן מי זה העלם] Is he a citizen of earth, or is he a spirit *not of this world*?

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\* "From his shoulders and upward he [Saul] was higher than any of the people." 1 Sam. ix. 2.

The English translation gives us *stripling* for this העל. You will judge for yourself which mode of translation is most consonant to the circumstances of the case, and most likely to exhibit the true state of Saul's mind, as well as which is most in accordance with what we have yet discovered concerning this word.

There is another instance, — 1 Sam. xx. 22. "If I say thus unto *the young man* [לעל], Behold the arrows are beyond thee," &c. Here, likewise, there is a mystery attached to the person called על. He is sent by Jonathan, apparently, to gather up his arrows. But, really, he is a *secret, mysterious* messenger to David, bearing a message, of which he is unconscious himself, and which no one knoweth but the two friends. The boy is a mystery even to himself. He is therefore called על in this place. But when the same one is spoken of twice before as simply *the lad*, he is called by the common name נער.

I know of only these two instances in the Bible in which על is applied to a young man; and in both there is a sense of secrecy or mystery attached to the person so called.

Lexicographers, in regard to this particular, inform us merely, that על signifies a *young man*. It would have been no more than fair, had they noticed also the sense of *secrecy or mystery*, which, in both cases, belongs to the person designated by this name. How far the secrecy is of a *spiritual* character the instances may tell for themselves.

In the form עלמה, with its numbers and cases, it occurs seven times in the Scriptures, signifying a *young maiden* or *virgin*, according to the English translation. In each of these instances, there is a sense of *mystery*, or something *hidden*, attached to the person so called, under the circumstances in which this word is applied to them, so far as we can ascertain those circumstances. The instances are as follow:

Gen. xxiv. 43. "Behold I stand by the well of water, and it shall come to pass, that when the *virgin* [העלמה] cometh forth to draw water," &c.

Abraham's servant is relating to Laban's household the way in which Jehovah had pointed out to him the maiden designated of God to be the wife of Isaac. He says he had prayed, that while he should remain by the well of water, when *the hidden* one should come among the other maid-

ens of the city to draw water, things should be said and done, which should make it clear that this was the one designated to be Isaac's wife. She was known to Jehovah in his invisible realm, and *sealed* for this object; but to Abraham's servant she was an *unknown* one, to be made known by a *secret*, concerted signal. He therefore called her העלמה, i. e. *the hidden one*, a name implying a sense of *secrecy* or *mystery*.

In this interpretation I am glad to be supported by the authority of Aquila, the Jew, who translates this עלמה *ἀπόκρυφος*, *hidden, concealed*.

I submit, also, whether there is not here a fair exemplification of the description of *being sealed*, as a meaning of סָלַח in connexion with the Arabic verb referred to by Schultens and explained by Vriemoet. The designated maiden was *sealed* by Jéhovah as one decreed to be the wife of Isaac; and so sealed, that no man could perceive who the designated was. But when the seal should be broken, it would be plainly seen, that this was the one marked for this object by the sealer, who, in this case, was Jehovah.

Exod. ii. 8. "The maid [העלמה] went and called the child's mother."

The sister of Moses is the person here called by this name. Her infant brother had been exposed upon the river; and she stood, at a proper distance, anxiously watching "what should be done to him." The daughter of Pharaoh came, and took the child under her protection, and sent the Hebrew maiden to call a Hebrew woman for a nurse. She little suspected, that she was sending a hidden *sister* to call a hidden *mother* to nurse a hidden conqueror of her father's house. She was literally sending one *unknown* to call another *unknown*. With these circumstances of mystery attending her, Miriam, if she be the person, is with great propriety called העלמה, *the hidden*.

Ps. lxxviii. 25. "The damsels [עלמות] playing with timbrels."

It is exceedingly doubtful who, and even what these עלמות, called *damsels*, were. A similar form of speech occurs in three other places, under circumstances which indicate a similarity of meaning, in this word, with that in this place. I here exhibit them, together with the translations of them in the Septuagint and Jerome's Vulgate.

1 Chron. xv. 20. Among the musicians, in the procession that conveyed the ark up to Jerusalem, eight Levites are named, "with psalteries on *Alamoth*," [כנגלים על עלמות] [Sept. ἐν ῥάβδαις ἐπὶ ἀλαιοῶθ] [Jer. These eight Levites, "in nabis arcana cantabant," — sung mysteries (possibly *spiritual* songs) in psalteries.]

Ps. xlii. Inscription: "A Song upon *Alamoth*," [על עלמות שיר.] [Sept. ὁ ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων ψαλμὸς, — a psalm for the *hidden* ones, or for the *mysteries*.] [Jer. "Pro arcanis psalmus," — a psalm for the *mysteries*.]

Ps. ix. Inscription: "To the chief musician upon *Muth-labben*. A psalm of David." על מות לבן מוזמר לרור. [Sept. ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων τοῦ υἱοῦ, ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ, — a psalm of David for the *hidden* ones [or *mysteries*] of the son.] [Jer. "Pro occultis filii," — for the *hidden* things of the son.]

It is the universal language of interpreters, that Psalm lxviii was composed on the removal of the ark, described in 1 Chronicles xv. There can hardly be a doubt, then, that the עלמות [damsels] in this psalm are the same as those in the historical description of the procession; and there is no reason to doubt that the same are intended in Psalms xlii and ix.

Putting together, therefore, all these instances with the known circumstances in two cases; and allowing such weight as is proper to the translations, it is exceedingly doubtful whether *female musicians* were intended at all, notwithstanding the feminine termination of the word. The עלמות seem to have had reference to something *mysterious* or *hidden*; they may signify *hymns* or *spiritual* songs or odes, relating to the *mysteries* of religion, perhaps *prophetic hymns*, the tones of which were sounded with timbrels. The translations evidently refer to things of that kind, and the circumstances render this the most probable meaning.

Should it, however, be requisite to consider the term as meaning *damsels*, it may then be sufficient to pass them as female musicians, who were in a procession only on extraordinary occasions, and then so veiled and surrounded by members of the priestly family, that hardly their persons and much less their faces could be seen, while still their music might be heard. It was not the wont of the daughters of Israel to expose themselves freely to the gaze of the multitude; and the number of Levites named as waiting on this part of the service, indicate a surrounding body-guard, within

which the damsels might perform music, and yet should be themselves the *hidden ones*. But I far more readily believe the term to have designated *hymns* relating to religious *mysteries*, or perhaps *prophecies*.

Prov. xxx. 19. "The way of a man with a *maid*" [בעלמה].

Here likewise it is greatly to be doubted what עלמה means. Be it whatever it may, it is expressly called by the author "too *wonderful* for me"; "which I know not." A *mystery* without any dispute.

Cant. i. 3. "Therefore do the *virgins* [עלמות] love thee."

Cant. vi. 8. "*Virgins* [עלמות] without number."

On these instances I make no further comment, than to say, that, whether this book be understood figuratively or literally, the allusion, in both these cases, is to young females, as kept carefully concealed in the seraglios of Eastern monarchs.

Isaiah vii. 14. "A *virgin* [העלמה] shall conceive and bear a son."

Nothing need be said to prove the sense of *mystery* and *secrecy*, attached to the person here called by this name. The eternally designated, but then unknown [the sealed] mother of the Messiah, might with singular propriety be called the *mysterious*.

I know of no other instances in which this word is used to represent a young maiden. If you think the instances in Psalm lxxviii, and in Canticles, doubtful, lay them aside, till a more accurate knowledge of facts and ancient habits shall enable us to judge of them more correctly and certainly than we now can. And then, observe, that in every instance, where we can ascertain facts satisfactorily, עלם is never, in any of its forms, used to signify a young man or young woman, excepting where there is something *secret*, *mysterious*, *sealed*, associated with the person called by this name. And the secrecy or mystery refers to the state of the mind, either in themselves or those with respect to whom they are *sealed* or *hidden*. In other places, other and different words are employed to represent young persons, as בחור, נער, בתולה, &c.

From which it may be fairly inferred, that this word is applied to them in these instances, because of the *secrecy* or *mystery* attending them, more than because of any state

of retirement or seclusion appropriated to youth in general, or in those ages and that country in particular. Possibly the term refers to both; but it seems to allude more peculiarly to the former. Indeed, it would be difficult to prove, that the youth of either sex were habitually kept in careful seclusion among the Hebrews, unless they were attached to some religious service, or in the days of the kings were shut up in a seraglio. In the common conditions of society, we find them in situations, and employed in duties, inconsistent with a very strict seclusion. There is, however, a certain sense of retirement, appropriate to the state of youth, in all cases, referring to their being *unknown*, not yet brought forth to the notice of society, having their qualities *latent*.

Also, the form עליו, as a noun, is translated in the English Bible, *youth*, in four instances. In these instances, the Seventy vary so much from the English translation and from themselves in the different places, that it may be an object to see and compare the different renderings:

Job xx. 11. "The sin of *his youth*." [עליו] [νεότητος αὐτοῦ].

Job xxxiii. 25. "Days of *his youth*." [עליו] [ἀνδρωθέντα ἐν ἀνθρώποις].

Psalms lxxxix. 45. "Days of *his youth*." [עליו] [τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ].

Isaiah liv. 4. "The shame of *thy youth*." [עליו] [αἰσχύνῃ αἰώνιον].

The Seventy evidently doubted, as to the proper meaning of the Hebrew term in these places. In the last one, they must have understood any thing else rather than *eternity*, when they attached αἰώνιος to that which was so soon to be forgotten. In the second and third they seem to have understood something like the *vis vitæ* or *vital energy*, appropriate to young men; like that expressed, Psalm ciii. 5. "thy youth [נעוריו] is renewed as the eagle's." So far as such *vital energy* is spiritual, so far these texts go towards supporting a spiritual meaning in the word in question.

This sense of *youth*, so often attached by translators to עליו, is probably associated, in some way, with the Chaldee root עלל. The meaning of that root is *to be strong*; *to strengthen one's self*; *to be brave*. It is therefore an appropriate term to represent *youth*, with reference to the *spirit*, *energy*, *life*, the *vis vitæ* common to that period of human existence.

Still it is not improbable, that in the four instances last produced reference is had to a *past* state, most likely that of *youth*, in which there is always a measure of *secrecy*, either in the commonly secluded condition of that state, or in the things then said or done.

But again, the noun עֵל, or some form of the verb used as a noun, bears, in some instances, so evidently the sense of *secrecy*, and that of a *spiritual* nature, that our translators have rendered it so; notwithstanding that the Seventy have done otherwise, excepting in one instance.

Psalms xc. 8. "Our *secret sins*" [עֲלֵמֵנו]. ὁ αἰὼν ἡμῶν. qu. *spiritual state*?

Eccles. xii. 14. "Every *secret thing*" [נֶעְלָם]. παντὶ παρρησιαμένῳ.

Job xi. 6. "The *secrets* [תְּעֵלֹת] of wisdom." δύνανται σοφίας.

Job xxviii. 11. "And the thing that is *hid*" [וְתֵעָלְמָה]. δύνανται.

Psalms xxvi. 4. "*Dissemblers*" [נֶעְלָמִים]. παρανομοῦντων. qu. *dark-minded ones*?

Psalms xli. 21. "The *secrets* [תְּעֵלֹת] of the heart." τὰ κρύφια τῆς καρδίας.

These six are the only cases in which עֵל, used as a noun, or after the manner of a noun, is translated *secret*, *secrets*, or in this sense. It is very remarkable, that, in each of these, the *secrecy* expressed has particular reference to a state or act of the *mind*, and is therefore *spiritual*; unless you except Ecclesiastes xii. 14, as a more comprehensive case; and even then it includes the secret things of the soul.

The foregoing are all the cases, so far as I can ascertain, in which עֵל, as a noun, is translated, in the English version, by any other word than one expressing duration. I assume them as all the instances in which the English translators, and, it may be added, all translators of the Bible into modern languages, have understood this word to express any thing different from duration.

Now, setting aside for the present those instances in which עֵל is considered as interchanged with עוֹל, take these instances of its substantive usage, compare them with the twenty-three instances of the verb עֵל, produced already, and, from the whole, it appears,

1. It is the constant habit of the *verb* עֵל to represent



*concealment, hiding, or secrecy.* It has this meaning in *all* cases.

2. It is the most common habit of the noun עָלַם to represent the same. It has this meaning, to a greater or less extent, in almost every instance: and in the few, concerning which this meaning may be doubted, it is doubt merely. The sense of *secret* or *hidden* is, in each of them, far more likely than any other to have belonged to this word.

3. In by far the greater number (an overwhelming majority) of instances, the *secrecy* or *hiding* expressed, whether by the verb or noun, has special reference to an act or state of the mind, i. e. a *spiritual* act or state; in some instances so evidently that it cannot well be understood in any other sense.

It is therefore a fair inference, that this word bears a similar meaning wherever it occurs, in whatever form; with due regard to those circumstances, which may show that some other sense has, in particular connexions, become attached to it. We ought to expect to find this meaning in it first, before we admit any other.

Further, inasmuch as the verb עָלַם uniformly expresses *concealment* or *secrecy*, and in every undoubted case that *secrecy* is of a spiritual character; inasmuch as the noun עָלַם, the first derivative from this verb, contains the same meaning of *secrecy*, and that so frequently of a spiritual kind; insomuch we ought to expect all other derivatives from the same root to have a share in the same signification.

Now עָלַם is a direct derivative from עָלַם. It ought, of course, to be expected to share in its meaning. The evidence must be exceedingly powerful, that should avail to sever this noun from its parent verb, or expunge from it the sense of *secrecy, hiding, or concealment*, relating to the mind. It was, in old time, a rule of Hebrew, and I know not that it has yet been abrogated, that ך inserted after the first radical, implied *continuation* of the state or action expressed by the verb. In this case, then, עָלַם would imply *continued* concealment, hiding, or secrecy, and is therefore a very appropriate word to be applied to both indefinite *duration*, and to that state which I have denominated *spirituality*. For what is more secret, and more continually so, than the mysterious region in which the spirit exists, moves, and acts?

Whether the law of the language, here named, be still admitted or not, is of but little consequence to the present inquiry. It remains, that עֵלִים is derived directly from עֵל, and, in the substantive form, is occasionally interchanged with it. It is therefore but reasonable, that we should expect to find in it a prevailing measure of its meaning of *secrecy, concealment, or mystery*, and this relating to the mind, i. e. *spiritual*.

My FOURTH evidence in the case is LEXICOGRAPHY. The testimony of Lexicographers, prior to Gesenius (and he in his "Manual Lexicon" neither affirms nor denies it), is uniform in favor of the sense of *concealment or secrecy* in the noun עֵלִים, interchangeably עֵל. I hereafter speak of either of these words as one, and under the common name עֵל; inasmuch as, in the respect now under consideration, they are regarded as one, and as meaning the same thing, by all philologists.

It is granted, that Lexicographers attribute the *concealment* in question to *duration*, without saying any thing in reference to *spirituality*. But still the sense of *concealment*, something *hidden or unknown*, is, to a greater or less extent, maintained in this word by every one whose works I have seen. The most of them gather this meaning from both its etymology and usage.

Simon alone thinks that עֵלִים ought to be referred to an *Æthiopic* root, which he names, rather than to the Hebrew עֵל. The only reason he assigns for so doing is, the existence of the synonyme עֵלִים. Now this synonyme appears only once in the Hebrew Bible, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7. In that place, two at least of Dr. Kennicott's Manuscripts read עֵלִים; and the instance is so solitary, and so very likely to have been introduced into the text by accident, that no true dependence can be placed upon it. Certainly it is an insufficient reason for making so great a change in the etymology of this word, and, in truth, in the entire habit of the Hebrew language. Nor do I know of any critic, commentator, translator, or lexicographer, who agrees with him in so doing. The Seventy, in this place, give εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, their common translation of לְעֵלִים; which goes so far to prove that they read that word in their copies. And modern translators have disregarded the difference of the word in that place altogether.

Simon tells us, in regard to עולם, the radical Hebrew verb in common understanding, that it signifies "to conceal, to hide; concerning the ears, it is to blunt or make dull; concerning the eyes, so to connive as to occlude." In the particular form, "a hidden, occult thing." He quotes Schultens as authority, in "Commentar. ad Prov." xxx. 19.

He assigns, as the first definition of עולם, "*Sæculum*;" i. e. *age or state*; a term expressing no particular period of duration nor definite boundary, but merely a *condition of things*, the duration and extent of which are not contained in the word, and, so far as this term relates to them, are both unknown.

He afterwards gives, as one meaning, "*eternity*," and immediately qualifies both by adding, "*time very long enduring; perpetual time*, so far as the *perpetuity* of the subject-matter admits, in which sense it often describes *continuous time*, (as, among the Latins, *perpetual Consul, Censor, Imperator*)." Hence he afterwards adds, as a meaning, "*the world very long enduring*." In truth, his whole description of עולם is founded in this, that it represents that, whose duration or extent is limited only by its own nature, and, of course, is unknown, hidden, or concealed from man.

He acknowledges that "it is commonly referred to the root עלם, so that it may denote *time*, the end of which is concealed and *unknown*, or, according to Schultens, whose ~~and has been sealed.~~" And, even supposing it should be referred to the Æthiopic root which he names, the meaning of that root is such, that he remarks, "Still עולם may designate *time very long enduring*;" i. e. *time*, the bounds of which are concealed.

In either case, then, Simon bears witness, that עולם represents that, whose extent or duration is unknown, secret, or hidden.

Parkhurst affirms, that "עולם and עולם are used, both as nouns and particles, for *time hidden or concealed* from man; as well *indefinite and eternal* as *finite*; as well *past* as *future*. It seems to be much more frequently used for an *indefinite*, than for *infinite*, time."

Opitius defines עולם "*Sæculum, tempus homini absconditum, tam infinitum et æternum, quam finitum*;" [Age, or state, *time hidden from man*, as well *infinite and eternal* as *finite*.]

Buxtorf, in his "immortal Hebrew, Rabbinic, and Chaldaic Lexicon," remarks concerning עולם (noun), "*Notat plerumque tempus homini incertum et absconditum ex Hebraicâ etymologiâ.*" [It denotes, for the most part, time, to man uncertain and hidden, from the Hebrew etymology.] As to עולם in particular, he assigns it no other definition than "Hebr. *Seculum, Mundus*," [Age, World.]

In Buxtorf's Concordance, the meaning "eternity" is assigned to both ער and נצח, but never to עולם. This latter word, through a list of some three or four hundred instances, is invariably translated by "Seculum" [Age or State]; i. e. a condition of things, the extent and duration of which are indefinite, hidden, or concealed.

It is worthy of remark, that every one of these lexicographers, unless you except Parkhurst, whose explanation, however, amounts to the same thing, assigns to עולם, as its first and main meaning, *Seculum*, a word which never signifies eternity, but a state or condition of things of indefinite extent and indefinite duration. Eternity seems to have been admitted by them, only as one kind of duration, the end of which is hidden. The sense of something secret or concealed, in this word, is evident in each. Although they attribute the concealment to duration only, still they bear witness that the secrecy is there.

To the preceding may be added the evidence of Vrie-moet [*Ad Dicta Class.* Vol. I. p. 77.] who tells us, that "עולם is commonly derived from עלם . . . . So that it should be long time, of which the beginning and the end lie hid from men"; and afterwards affirms, that he acquiesces in "this origin of the word עולם, drawn from being hidden." He then discusses Simon's description, and opinion that it should be referred to the Æthiopic root, and adds, that "in this there can no safe confidence be placed."

With this prevalent and habitual testimony of lexicography before him, I confess myself somewhat surprised at Professor Stuart's assertion, that "all these meanings" (hiding, concealment) "belong exclusively to the verb עלם, and not to the noun עולם." Mr. G. has wholly overlooked this, and therefore committed a radical error in his philological reasoning." I trust the foregoing witnesses will be admitted as sufficient for my defence against this charge, whatever charge they may lay upon Professor Stuart for this assertion.

It will not answer for him to discard the evidence of these lexicographers as of no worth. For, setting all aside excepting Buxtorf, Professor Stuart has attested to his authority too plainly to allow it now to be rejected. He calls him the "Coryphæus of all Rabbinical investigators"; and with equal truth and justice observes, that "Buxtorf . . . . has given no occasion that any attentive and intelligent reader should be misled." This is true; and the "*homini incertum et absconditum*" [uncertain, and *hidden* from man] of Buxtorf must be admitted, as sufficient lexicographical evidence, that a sense of *secrecy* or *hiding* exists in the noun עול, as well as in the *verb* from which it is derived, even should all the others abovenamed be set aside, which they cannot be.

I noticed, when reading his original dissertation, in "The Spirit of the Pilgrims," that Professor Stuart made no allusion to the etymology of עול, nor to its radical connexion with a term expressing *secrecy*, *concealment*, or any thing of the kind. An uninformed reader of his work would have received it, as a matter of course, that עול was an original and simple word *per se*; that it was underived, and unassociated with any words qualifying its meaning; and that its whole import was *everlasting duration*, saving when used, a few times, in a loose, not to say a ridiculous sense. In short, it would seem that עול was, like Melchizedec, "without father, without mother, without descent; *having neither beginning of days nor end of life*"; without kindred or affinity of any sort.

It seemed to me, that one in his station, and with his influence, had failed in duty to the uninformed, by mere silence on this subject; not having put them in possession of information, essential to a right understanding of the term whose meaning he was discussing. But it was thought that the neglect was accidental. It now appears that his silence was intentional. For in the Appendix to his "Exegetical Essays," he positively denies, that "these meanings" [*hiding* or *concealment*] "belong to the noun עול"; affirming, that they "belong exclusively to the *verb*," and do not extend to the *noun*.

You see what decisive testimony to the contrary is borne by the foregoing witnesses. They are men of no mean name; citizens of no mean city. It remains for Professor

Stuart, either to make void their authority, or admit the sense of *concealment* in the noun as well as the verb.

It is true, these authorities attribute the *secrecy* contained in this noun to *duration* only. Still they maintain the *secrecy* itself; and this it has been an object to show. And if, in further prosecution of the subject, I with respectful deference take leave to differ from these men of mighty minds and extensive learning, these "burning and shining lights," on proper occasions, in attributing to *spirituality* that concealment which they attribute to *duration*, I shall at least be glad, that, thus far, I am supported by them. They have, with one accord, established the sense of *concealment*, *hidden*, *secret*, *occult*, in עִלְי. And, so far as *secrecy* is associated with *spirituality*, so far I can rest on a foundation, and tread upon "a stepping-stone," to the solidity of which they bear a joint and several witness.

Having thus exhibited the etymology and lexicography of עִלְי, together with the usage of עִלְי, its nearest kindred noun, and having shown, as I trust, satisfactorily, that the whole evidence sustains the sense of something *hidden*, *concealed*, or *mysterious* in this word, I take the present opportunity to remark, that a word expressive of *secrecy*, *hiding*, *concealment*, or any similar idea, is one exceedingly appropriate for expressing *spirituality* and *spiritual*. We might naturally expect that it would be so employed, and we ought to look to find it, especially in a language, the only extant portions of which are works written by inspired men, and confessedly treating of God, the soul, and things relating to the spirit. We ought therein to expect, that some such term would be so employed, unless we know that some other word has been assumed for this purpose, and is actually and habitually so employed.

Now it is a singular fact, that there is no word in ancient Hebrew Scripture, which translators or commentators have understood in the sense *spiritual*. The word πνευματικός does not occur once in the Septuagint; nor does *spiritual* appear in the English translation of the Old Testament, excepting in one instance, Hos. ix. 7. "The *spiritual* man is mad." In this place the Septuagint reads πνεματοφόρος, *spirit-bearing*; Hebrew, אִישׁ הָרוּחַ, *man of the spirit*; i. e. the *inspired* or the *prophet*, which has no allusion to the *nature*, but only to the *office* of the subject.

It is inconceivable that the idea of *spirituality*, as forming the nature of the subject, never entered the minds of the writers of the Old Testament, or that they should not have wished to express it, in connexion with the subjects on which they write. But, according to the Septuagint and English translation, and, it may be added, every other translation, they never do express it, at least in the adjective form. *Spirits* are mentioned, but *spiritual* never.

There are some cases in which these versions exhibit the idea, to a limited extent, by means of what may be called a noun in regimen, with [English] *spirit*, *soul*, *heart*, or *mind*; as "bitterness of spirit"; "sorrow of heart"; "grief of mind," &c. But such instances are very scarce; much more so than is commonly believed. Even when they do occur, it may be perceived by inspection, that the terms *soul*, *spirit*, *heart*, &c. as used in them with respect to created existences, signify, in most cases, but little more than a *disposition*, a *desire*, an *abhorrence*, an *earthly grief*, or an *earthly joy*. In these instances they imply little, if any thing more of spirituality, than what man, upon earth, can measure, and fathom, and bound. And what is this, compared with the true idea of spirituality in its essence? It is a term which comprises, not merely the inward state of mind and heart in man upon the earth, but the whole vast region of intellect, affection, and volition, in which all intellectual and moral beings think, feel, will, or act.

Are we to believe, that "Moses and the Prophets," introduced so far as they were into the Divine Mind, and so associated in thought, feeling, and will with Deity, that God himself "spake by them unto the fathers"; — are we to believe, that they had no idea of that *secret* mode of existence and action which is here called *spirituality*; or that, having such an idea, they used no appropriate words, whereby to express it? For myself I must believe, that they both possessed the idea and employed a proper word for expressing it. And, when I search the Scriptures in pursuit of that term, I am led, by the nature of the case, to expect to find it in a word derived from a root always conveying a sense of *concealment*, *hiding*, or *secrecy*, by an act or state of the mind; a word whose first cognate so plainly contains a similar meaning, that translators, at times, render it so, and a word which, lexicographers testify, represents that which is *concealed* and lies *hid*.

For what is more *secret*, *hidden*, or *unsearchable*, than *spirituality*, considered in its true extent? It is what the eye cannot see, nor the ear hear, nor the hand touch. It is discernible by mind alone [τὸ μὲν αἰώνιον νόος ὁρᾷ μόνος, Tim. Loccr.] [τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ . . . . πνευματικῶς ἀνακρίνεται. 1 Cor. ii. 14.]; and by the human mind only to a limited degree.

We think a few thoughts, we exercise a few affections, we effect a few volitions, we enter a little way into the realm of mind, and look onward a short distance to other spiritual states revealed to us in other minds, as children dip their feet within the borders of the ocean, and cast their eyes over a few square miles of its surface. And, as they know nothing of the immense variety and unrevealed nature of the objects contained within the unfathomed depths and secret recesses of the sea, so neither are we acquainted with the vast amount of thought, feeling, and spiritual energy, existing and acting in higher intelligences. Least of all, can we explore the depths of the Divine Mind. "As the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my . . . . thoughts than your thoughts." \* That which can embrace *spirituality*, in its whole extent, must be nothing short of the infinite and the eternal. And the term, in human language, which signifies *secret*, *hidden*, or *mysterious*, is exceedingly appropriate to express this *hidden* state, and mode of existence and action.

So natural is this use of language, that a *hidden* thing is in many cases equivalent to a *spiritual* thing, even in our ordinary speech; and in Scriptural usage, any word, expressive of *secrecy*, is, occasionally, employed in a similar sense. Hence the expressions, "In the *hidden* [spiritual] part shalt thou make me to know wisdom;" "*Hidden* wisdom;" "*Hidden* man of the heart;" "*Hidden* manna;" and other like forms of speech, in sundry places. And where should we look for such meaning more directly, than in a term like חֵלֶם, associated as it is with *secrecy*, and that of a spiritual character, in its etymology and its affinities, and which, competent testimonies affirm, contains in itself a sense of that which is *hidden*?

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\* Isaiah lv. 9.



Neither ought we to be surprised if the same word, which was chosen by spiritually-minded men to represent *spirituality*, should also have been selected by them to represent *duration*. For, verily, duration is a deep, mysterious, and *hidden* subject.

We measure off what we call days, and months, and years, by attaching existence to the revolutions of the celestial spheres. We make them unto us measures of being; "for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years." We call this measurement *time*, and feel as if we had, in this name, definite ideas of absolute duration. But duration itself lies far above, beneath, and beyond these measurements of material existence. It is an immense deep, an unsearchable abyss, which the lead and line of the mariner can fathom as soon and as easily as the mind of the philosopher. "What was *time*, before the planetary system, which measures it, had an existence? And what will *time* be, when these heavens and this earth shall be blotted out?"\* In every deep contemplation of *duration* in itself, all period, succession, and every subject by which we think to measure it, vanishes away, and the mind is conscious of nothing but simple, and, at the same time, incomprehensible existence alone, perceived, but not comprehended. A *secret* subject, of course, and one which may be properly represented by a term originally expressive of that which is *hidden*. A subject discernible only by the mind, and therefore *spiritual*.

In truth duration is a subject so spiritual, that even in regard to that mode of it which we call *time*, philosophers of repute have affirmed it to be a mere creation of the mind; that, if there were no intellectual beings to create it, there would be no *time*. And their antagonists have never yet been able to prove them in the wrong. What is *time* but *idea*, created by the mind acting on the apparent motion of the heavens? And what is *idea*, but that which is *spiritual*? †

In short, *duration* and *spirituality* possess so many characteristics in common; they have so near a kindred, that

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\* Professor Stuart.

† "It appears to me," says Proclus, "that they who thus denominated time  $\chi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , had this conception of its nature [i. e. intellectual], and were therefore willing to call it as it were  $\chi\rho\omicron\varsigma\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , an intellect moving in measure, but, dividing the words, perhaps, for the sake of concealment, they called it  $\chi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ." — *Taylor's Transl.*

but few forms of speech can be employed with respect to the one, which may not apply to the other also. Especially, is this the case with respect to duration considered as separate from those apparent motions of the universe, by which we think to measure it. Speak of a thing as *enduring* thus, and it immediately is divested of all material association; it instantly becomes *spiritual*. It is resolved into a *secret, mysterious, spiritual* thing; and the same terms which speak of its *secret* mode of duration, will be often employed, when naming its *secret* spirituality of nature. It is, therefore, in exact conformity with the usages of language, that a word originally expressive of *secrecy*, something *hidden*, or *mysterious*, like the Hebrew נעלם, should, also, be employed to represent such abstruse ideas as both *duration* and *spirituality*; even though a term significant of *breathing*, be also employed to represent one of them.

Professor Stuart seems to feel as if he had refuted any suggestion of this kind, in the following remark; — “Is there nothing *mysterious* or *unsearchable*, but *spirit*? For example; the powers of nature, gravitation; electricity, magnetism, the principles of vegetation, etc.; is there no נעלם [occult thing] “here?” — There, certainly, is a נעלם in all these things, and many others. And it is more than man can do, to prove that this נעלם is not *spirit*. Human nature is so ready to conceive of it so, that, for many ages, men who sought and obtained any acquaintance with these *secrecies*, were believed to have held communion with the spiritual world. Professors of the *occult*, were, in the common mind, associates with *spirits*. This, to be sure, does not prove it to have been so. But it does prove, that the human mind is ever ready to think of the *occult* [נעלם], as being of a spiritual nature, and to use words expressive of such secrecy, in order to signify that which is spiritual. We do the same, now; as when we speak of one’s *secret* life, *existence*, or *state*, and mean the *spiritual* by the *secret*.

But it happens, singularly enough, that the very נעלם [occult], which Professor Stuart brings to view, in his examples above produced, was called, in ancient time, by the same name, and considered as the same thing as πνεῦμα [spirit]. Aristotle is my witness; —

*De Mundo*, Cap. 4. Vol. II. p. 605, E. This [sc. wind] is nothing more than air in rapid motion and condensed; which is

also called SPIRIT [πνεῦμα]. But, in another respect, that ESSENCE is called SPIRIT which is in all vegetables, and animals, and extends through all things, vivifying and prolific. [Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἑτέρως πνεῦμα, ἥτε ἐν φυτοῖς, καὶ ζώοις, καὶ, διὰ πάντων διήκουσα, ἐμπνευστός τε καὶ γόνιμός οὐσία].

Here, the *secret* principle of vegetation, and of animal life are particularly named, as *spirit*; and to those acquainted with Aristotle's mind, there needs no reasoning, to prove, that that *secret* principle which binds the universe together, which we call *gravitation* (and know about as much concerning its nature as he did), the *secret* principle of lightning which we call *electricity*, or the *secret* principle of polar attraction which we call *magnetism* (if this last were known at all in his day), were, equally, *spirit* [πνεῦμα] in his view, as well as those *occult* powers which he expressly calls so. Nor, would it greatly disturb my own philosophy, should the time arrive, when they will again be *spirit*, in the minds of men, and be, once more, called by that name. — As to the Stagirite, and the ancients with him, it is clear, that every *occult* essence is comprised in the comprehensive phrase, διὰ πάντων διήκουσα . . . . οὐσία, — the essence extending through all things, — and is, therefore, *spirit*.

I may afford, and willingly render, thanks to Professor Stuart, for giving me this opportunity to show, how readily a sense of *spirituality* associates itself with every thing *secret* or mysterious; and, how nearly akin was the πνεῦμα [*spirit*] of the Greeks, to the סֵחֵל [*occult*] of the Hebrews. And, may I not, also, give thanks to the sage of Stagira, for the prompt, and efficient witness, he has borne in my behalf; not only now, but elsewhere, and abundantly, in this inquiry. Peace be to his venerable shade; and my filial blessing on his spirit, as he returns to his rest, without saying unto me in wrath, “Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?”

Thus far, we have seen, that the common testimonies for the meaning of words, give us no reason to expect the sense of *eternity* in סֵחֵל; saving so far as this may be considered as one mode of *secret*, *hidden*, or *sealed* duration; which is far short of that which, certainly, has neither beginning nor end; and even of that which has no *end* alone.

We have, also, seen, thus far, that these witnesses lead us, directly, to expect the sense of *spirituality* in this word. It remains, that we ascertain, whether the actual usage of the

term in question supports either of these meanings, and, if so, how far.

In such an inquiry, it will be necessary to examine passages of Scripture, in sufficient number to exhibit its prevailing habit. According to Professor Stuart's rule, and a good one, we must take "the *Concordance*," and endeavour, "in each case, to determine the meaning of the word" עַל־כֵּן "from the connexion in which it stands." But, having occupied as many pages, as can be devoted, at once, to an inquiry of this nature, I defer the further investigation to another opportunity.

Yours in good will,

E. S. GOODWIN.

*Sandwich, Mass., Oct. 1, 1832.*

ART. VII. — *The Christian Monitor*. New Series. Vol. I.

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IN all improvement, whether religious, intellectual, or political, there is a period of danger. It is the period which intervenes between the laying aside of old ideas, maxims, and usages, and the adoption of new ones. It is the intermediate state between bondage and freedom, between superstition and reflection, between formality and simplicity, between traditional and implicit faith and the results of liberal investigation. Men must have some ideas in which to confide, and some principles on which to fix their affections; and they must have some institutions and usages to excite their attention and to quicken their virtues. And therefore, if they have let go one set of principles and habits, and have not taken hold upon another, they are afloat upon an unstable element; their minds will be apt to want steadiness and sobriety; they will be liable, in their religious speculations, to pursue phantoms rather than realities, and vagaries rather than certain truths. But phantoms and vagaries are not guiding principles; they will not serve to educate the mind, to lead it to knowledge, piety, and hap-

piuess. The influence of settled truths and fixed usages is needed for this purpose. Better a faulty system for the mind, than no system.

Now it is under this negative, this no-system dispensation, that an unprecedented number of minds are, in this age, growing up and acting their part. It is so in the domestic discipline. The old rigor is laid aside by many, the strict rule and plan for children are abolished, and nothing is adopted in their stead. The ideas of many parents, on the whole subject of the early nurture and discipline of childhood, are extremely vague. Consequently, their course is wavering. Now, they lean to strictness, and then, to indulgence. They cannot follow, for instance, the old way of teaching religion to their children, and they have not systematically taken up any new and better way. Between the two plans they pursue no plan; and their children are liable to grow up, obeying no rule, and reverencing no institution, that is either hallowed by time, or made holier by the adoption of reason and conscience. So it is, again, on the great scale of the world's education. In religion, France exhibits a striking picture of a nation fallen into the perilous interval between worn-out bigotry and rational faith. Beyond all examples of Pagan, Mahometan, or Christian history, it is a nation without religion. And we have seen private letters from some of their most distinguished philosophers and philanthropists seriously maintaining, to our astonishment we must confess, that the old superstition must die away entirely, before it will be time to begin the work of building up a new system of religious principles. In politics, England and Germany are in a state of ferment and of indefinite change, from which wise men hope much indeed, but from which they cannot help fearing much. We say, indefinite change; for after all that is written about civil liberty in these days, we apprehend, that, among the impatient and struggling multitudes of the old world, the most vague and unsettled ideas prevail, of what they would do or have. They are dissatisfied with their condition; and instead of attempting gradual and definite changes, or of proposing distinct and well-ascertained objects, they are, the most of them, we fear, but too willing to blot out all charters, and prescriptions, and principles, and to rush into the chaos of universal disorder and anarchy. There is, at the same time, an onward

movement of the great religious bodies of Christendom, which can be safe only in the jealous vigilance of their members. The Reformation was the first great step in this movement; and we know very well, that, before the new principles were fully adopted and wrought into new institutions, a period intervened of great and dangerous instability and laxness in the ways of piety. This exposure results from the very nature of the mind, and, unless guarded against, will be witnessed, with all its sad fruits, in every step of future progress which religion is destined to make.

We say, then, that the period of improvement, of the most visible and striking improvement, is the crisis of danger. The glorious results of mental progress can be purchased at no inferior price. He that ascendeth a lofty mountain must needs tread upon the verge of precipices. All moral good comes to us through peril; and that good which is best of all, the soul's freedom and strength, and establishment in pure truth and virtue, must often come through the greatest peril. He that would obtain the prize, must run the race. He that would gain the victory, must fight the battle, must purchase the conqueror's crown with wounds and blood.

But it is time that we should bring these general remarks to some point of practical importance. And this we design to do, by confining our attention to the dangers to which some of the *institutions of religion* are exposed by the present progress of religious opinions. This danger, let it be observed, is not predicated upon the supposition of an entire change of religious institutions; for no body of Christians proposes any such measure. It is in the change of ideas concerning some of the institutions of religion, that the danger lies. And to speak more exactly still, the danger lies in the process, and not in the results of the change. When the new and improved ideas come to be firmly and fervently associated with the institutions in question, all will be well; but till then there is danger.

Our further business in this Article shall be to notice some of those institutions to which these remarks apply.

And the first which we shall mention is the Sabbath. This has formerly been a day of restraint, rather than improvement, and of penance, rather than of moral progress. We do not say that there was no progress or improvement, but only that

the prevailing ideas leaned rather to restraint and penance. Christians construed the command, "not to think their own thoughts, nor to do their own works," almost as if they were not to think, nor to do, any thing *human*. They were to be wrapped up in a kind of ascetic devotion, and an unsocial reserve. They were to put on a staid demeanor, and a severe countenance, and to keep a strict eye to their children, lest by a smile or any innocent freedom, they should violate the sanctity of the holy day; and this was Sabbath-keeping.

These ideas, with many, have passed away; and what have they adopted instead? We may answer for not a few certainly, that they have adopted nothing instead. They give the hours of the day, save those which are appropriated to public worship, to idleness, or to recreation. They sleep, or ride out, or read books of mere entertainment, or spend convivial hours with their friends. In short, the general pursuits of the day, with many, have no religious aim whatever. They rejoice in their deliverance from old prejudices. They boast of their freedom; and seem to think that they do very well. So well, that they feel quite a sense of superiority, to those old-fashioned Christians who did nothing on the Sabbath, but read the Bible and pray. Mistaken, dangerous freedom! Better the devotions of the anchorite's cell, than such idle and erring boasts of liberty! Better duty at any rate, than such fatal deliverance!

We would implore such persons to pass from this state as soon as possible. It cannot be right. The time which God has given for their improvement, whether they call it holy or not holy, they ought not so to use. It is *time* — precious time, leisure time; and they may convert it to purposes of infinite moment. It is greatly needed for such purposes. It ought to be a grateful pause, a welcome period, rescued from those cares that are apt to crowd out from the mind, all thoughts of its better welfare and higher destiny. Oh! that welfare, that destiny! why should they not open upon the soul in every permitted hour, with such brightness and grandeur, as to swallow up all meaner passions and interests? And such hours *are* permitted, Sabbath hours, quiet, holy hours, when the soul, almost deafened and stifled with the noise and strife and toil and dust of this lower world, may go up upon the mount of meditation, and breathe a purer air, and take in a

wider vision, and feel a blessed freedom and enlargement, and, undisturbed, commune with its native heaven. And let no ascetic rigor forbid that the fresh flower be plucked by the way, that the pulses of life beat in full response to the joyous touches of nature and society, that the countenance bear its smile, and the voice its greeting, to every sign of kindness and happiness. Let all possible gladness, compatible with the great object of the day, be crowded into it. Let the young, as well as the old, feel that it is a happy day; that the light is beautiful, when it rises upon the Sabbath hours, that the parting ray is serene which shines upon the holy eventide, that all around is gladness, and peace, and heavenly benediction. For God hath blessed that holy day; and it seems as if the heavens as they bend over it, were touched with an aspect of deeper serenity and more unutterable love. Let it be a happy day, then, but not an ordinary happy day. Let it be, we had almost said, a holiday; but not like any other holiday; no, but a holiday of devout aspirations, and grateful affections, and kind greetings, and pleasing remembrances, and of communion with the recorded thoughts of saints and sages, and cherished hopes of meeting them in a better world!

“How sweet a Sabbath thus to spend,  
In hope of one, that ne’er shall end!”

The next of our religious institutions to which we shall advert in this connexion, is that of public worship. The ideas of this service, which have prevailed in the world, have leaned to the view of it, as a prescriptive usage, as something compelled by the discipline of early education and never to be questioned, as something, in fine, that must be done. The ideas of many are now leaning another way. The former views, indeed, are not altogether rejected, and in a modified sense, they are just; but mechanical obedience is now yielding to reasoning; and the reasoning is about expediency, about the advantages of public worship, and the propriety of attending upon it, as well as about the command to be inferred from the sacred records. All this is very well, too, if it were carried out into actual sentiment and practice. But are not many still in the middle passage? Have not some, at least, cast off the old bonds of superstition and prescription, as they call them, and not yet felt or fully acknowledged the new



bond of duty, which *expediency* makes as strong as any commandment can make it? Do not some say, and take pleasure in saying, that whether they shall go to church or not, is a matter left entirely to their own inclinations, — that there is no duty whatever in the case? And if they do say so, are they not truly at a dangerous point in the progress of their opinions? Can it be safe for the whole community to reason in this way? Can society part with the institution of public worship, or treat it with indifference, and still go on prosperously? Certainly it cannot. We suppose that all admit that it cannot. And if all do admit this, then they admit that there is a duty in the case. And to this duty, the feelings of men ought to be bound, as strongly as they ever were bound to prejudice or to prescription. Let, then, the transfer be made. If men will not go to church because they are compelled to go; let them go, because it is right, because it is useful, because they would help on the cause of virtue and order, because they would enlarge their religious knowledge and expand and cultivate all good and pious affections, because, in fine, they are most heartily willing to go.

Another of our religious usages, which is brought into danger of neglect by the spirit of the times, is that of private devotion. In the prevailing ideas of it, the closet has been, and we fear still is, considered as a desolate spot. To multitudes, it presents nothing to attract and win the affections. They have never known what it is to feel themselves drawn to the place of retirement, to resort to it with pleasure, and to sit down and meditate and pray in freedom and joy. Probably there are many who think of it as a dark closet, — who conceive of the command to shut the door as a command to shut out the light of day. At any rate, it presents itself to their imagination as a cold, cheerless, uninviting place. It is not a boudoir; it is not a well-furnished chamber; it is not a place upon the house-top, where the Jews were wont, amidst the presence of nature, the breath of summer, and the holy calm of eventide, to ascend for prayer; but it is a narrow, close, pent-up, and, for all other purposes, neglected and deserted closet. And yet to some spot thus bodied forth to their imaginations, men have felt it a duty daily to retire. And a duty, and a privilege too, it is, to retire somewhere, from the world, to meditate and pray. But men have felt the duty, without

feeling the privilege; and under the goadings of conscience they have performed it; reluctantly, almost mechanically, yet regularly, they have performed it. We do not by any means say this of all Christians of past times. But we say it of many. And we say of the multitude of *nominal* Christians, that such have been their ideas of secret prayer.

But now, there are many who are thinking enough, and freely enough, to perceive that such forced and irksome services can do very little good, — can scarcely be considered as a duty. They see that mere forms are of little avail; that God requires the heart, and that it is the offering of the heart alone that can secure his favor. Closet devotions, as they conceive, are not such offerings; and they reject, and rightly reject, all such repulsive ideas of worship. And here, it is to be feared, that many stop, — stop with mere rejection. They have given up secret and steadfast prayer. They leave their religious exercises to chance. They have no one hour, more than any other hour, for self-recollection, and the contemplation of duty, and prayer to God; and it soon comes to pass, that no hour of life is found for these great and solemn purposes. For as sure as the world gets our time into its hands, without any condition or reservation, it will take full advantage of the compact. If we contract not for one hour, it will give us none; and our religion must take the fearful chance of haste, and inadvertence, and irregularity.

This then, we say again, is the dangerous intermediate state, of which we have before spoken; and from which all who are in it should be exhorted to escape, — to escape as for their lives, — to fly through all the plain, and stop not till they reach the Zoar, the place of refuge. We speak strongly, it may be thought; but we must express our own conviction, that religion never will be thoroughly and effectually cultivated, that the conscience never will be quickened as it ought to be, and sins never will be resisted as they must be resisted, till the soul has, besides its general care and endeavour, a daily season of serious self-examination and earnest prayer. It is not an easy thing to be a Christian. It is not an easy thing to be habitually devout. It is not without a fixed and daily effort of attention, that we are to gain that deep and abiding sense of God's being and presence and

perfection, without which our religion can never have its full strength or joy.

We say, there must be a season for this. We demand nothing, with regard to place, that is, the particular spot chosen. Retirement of the soul into itself, is the main thing. Let it be in the grove or in the garden, in the chamber, or the study, or the office, or even in the throng of society, if retirement of the soul into itself can be gained there. But can it be gained there? Can any one be so independent of circumstances, as not to be interrupted or disturbed in his devotions, by surrounding conversation, and all the varied movement of social life? Yet if any one says that he can, we will not contest the point with him. All that we insist upon is, that once at least in every day, there should be somewhere, a pause in life, an interval devoted to reflection, a season for deep meditation, and serious self-inspection, and fixed inquiry into the duties and dangers and destinies of life, and for the absorbing contemplation of God, and for humble and fervent prayer, — prayer for one's self, and family, and kindred, and friends, and associates, and for the church, and for all good things, and for the world's great good. This, in process of time, will make a man a devoted, and faithful, and happy Christian. Religion will not then be, as it now is with many, a mere vague sentiment, but it will be feeling and action, it will be aim and habit, it will be power and victory. It will be like the law of the Lord, "perfect, converting the soul; sure, making wise the simple; right, rejoicing the heart; pure, enlightening the eyes; more to be desired than gold; sweeter, than all that is sweetest to mortal taste.

How reasonable and how beautiful is such a retirement! How well and how fitly does it come in, amidst the throng of our cares, and the close, surrounding pressure of our toils, to give us rest and refreshment! How fit is it, for beings before whom the great destinies of eternity are opening, that they should pause in the career of life, and meditate, and pray! Why shouldst thou dread to be alone? What has the world done for thee, that thou canst not quit it for a moment? Enter thou into the secret place of thine own bosom, enter into thy chosen retirement, and when thou hast shut the door of thine heart, pray to thy Father who is in secret, and thy Father who seeth in secret will reward thee openly.

The last of our religious ordinances which we intended to consider in this Article, is that of the Lord's Supper; and to this subject we propose to give more attention than to those already mentioned, because it is encompassed with peculiar difficulties. We propose to speak freely of these difficulties; because we think it is better that they should be brought out into discussion, than be suffered to press, in secret, upon the minds of many, as a burden of unrelieved perplexity, and unanswered objection.

Serious modifications in the views of this ordinance *have been made*, as the history of Protestantism shows; and views of it, still more improved, still more nearly conforming to its primitive character, are required by advancing light, by growing reflection, by the spirituality of the age, by the increasing intelligence, in short, of the public mind. That great deviations from its primitive character were early made, we, as Protestants, believe. Why should it be thought, that all error was removed, all possible improvement effected, by a single blow? On the contrary, it is too evident to be questioned, that a mass of superstition, the heritage of former days, still weighs upon the public mind, and is a heavy burden even to many serious and sincere Christians. The peculiar awe, by which this ordinance is separated from every other ordinance of God's appointment; the habit of singling it out, and exalting it above every other mode of worship and means of grace; the singular dread, in the minds of many, of contracting some heinous and mysterious guilt by a wrong participation of it; the common idea that it involves some new and greater obligation to be a Christian than existed before, and that it involves also a pledge of abstinence from pleasures otherwise innocent, or, at least, venial; the awe which keeps many away from this ordinance, and not less, the vague and jealous respect which many express for it, who have no intention of ever profiting by it; the very aspect, too, of many communicants, while engaged in this service, the aspect of constraint and almost of distress; the evident feeling which many of them have, that the *elements* are the solemn things in this commemoration, and that it becomes them to have a very special impression on their minds, at the moment when they take into their hands those elements, — all these things, are to our apprehension, proofs, that there is still on this subject a great deal of superstition among us.

We must repeat, for the sake of saying more distinctly and emphatically, that attention is fixed upon the mere emblems in this service, to a degree that is unwarrantable and superstitious; and it would not be strange if the natural revulsion of enlightened minds from this wrong habit of thinking, should carry some to the extent of rejecting the ordinance altogether. This is the danger which we apprehend from what is really a progress of thought on the subject. The progress of thought consists in a more spiritual view of the service, in a more exact scrutiny of its nature and uses. It is seen to be chiefly valuable as a season of meditation, as an opportunity for meditating on Jesus Christ, as an expression of faith in him, and allegiance to him, and as the communion and common bond of Christian sympathies. These are really the great ends of the institution, and they are all spiritual; and the question will very naturally arise, How are these spiritual exercises assisted by the outward emblems? And, if any one, from his peculiar habits of mind, is obliged to answer, Not at all; — nay, more, if any one should be so singular as to feel that the *elements* are hindrances to devotion, he may go, at once, to the inference, that they ought to be dismissed from the service. He may go from thinking too much of the elements to thinking too little of them. Or, shall we not rather say, that he still thinks too much of them, if he suffers *them* to hinder his joining in an otherwise most interesting act of religious meditation and worship?

But the inference of him whose difficulties about the *elements* lead him to reject the Communion, — his inference, we say, even admitting his premises, we cannot allow to be just. Because, even admitting, for argument's sake, that the elements are not impressive 'emblems,' nay, even admitting that they hinder impression, yet they still answer a purpose of the greatest importance. That is to say, *they constitute the occasion what it is*. Take away the elements, and no service of commemoration could be sustained in the church. Any such spiritualizing of the Communion would amount to the annihilation of it. It would inevitably be merged in the ordinary services of Christian worship. If, then, it be desirable, by a special action, to perpetuate through all ages the remembrance of the greatest Benefactor of our race; if it be desirable from time to time to call distinctly to mind, Jesus in

his sufferings; if the world, in its pride and its pleasures, is liable to forget all this, and needs some striking token to keep it in mind; and if it is meet that those, who would never forget it, should have mementos, times, and seasons, for this remembrance of Christ, and for the recognition of each other, high or low, rich or poor, as his disciples, — then must this ritual be admitted to be expedient and necessary. And certainly it is the least portion and the simplest character of ritual that could be devised. It occupies the direct attention of no one communicant but a moment, while, we repeat, it constitutes an occasion, which may obviously be of great service to him. Even, then, if there were that imperfection in this institution, which attaches to every thing that passes through human hands, would that be a good reason for rejecting it? There are some things in all social worship that hinder fixed and absorbing devotion. Shall social worship therefore be laid aside? We cannot enter a temple but by passing through the door. The door, one may say, is an obstacle; but still it is the way of entrance. And if, when we would “enter into the holiest” place of meditation concerning Jesus, we enter “through the veil, that is to say, his flesh,” who would not think it more wise to enter in, than to stop at that veil, and curiously to question and dispute about it.

We say all this, on the supposition that any one objects to the material elements in the eucharist. But is it not being over-much spiritual, so to object? Is it not because there is something in the mind of the objector, which need not and which ought not to be there? Every one should consider, that there are very different general states of mind, which are the results, not of reasoning, but of education or temperament, or of morbid imagination, and which will cause the same thing to appear in very different lights. There is an anti-ordinance state of mind, so to call it, and there is the opposite feeling of the devotee to forms; and it may not be too much to suspect that both are equally wrong. Every one who has observed the workings, and especially the passive states of his own mind, must be aware, that it is liable to take very strong impressions, impressions very bright and convincing, which, nevertheless, it is totally unsafe to follow. Most of the deviations from the path of sober and

rational piety, whether into the excess of formality or of spiritualizing, have arisen, we suspect, and very honestly arisen, from such impressions, from strong associations of ideas, or from the influence of imagination, and not from reasoning. George Fox was full of such impressions. And the difficulty which his followers have felt about certain ordinances, has always seemed to us to arise, not so much from any scruple about the Scriptural authority for them, as from a peculiar and invincible repugnance to them. So, on the other hand, we never conversed with a man, whose heart was bound up exclusively in the usages of his church, without finding this same difficulty, — *a general state of mind*, which moulded, modified, colored all reasoning, and which almost rendered the use of reason nugatory in our discussion.

Now we would ask those who hesitate to join in our communion service, from the difficulty they feel about the use of material elements, whether the objection does not arise from a state of mind which altogether exaggerates the difficulty in question? Is it not, in another form, the very superstition which it professes to discard? We suspect that this feeling keeps more persons away from the ordinance than is commonly supposed. It is a certain strange, exaggerated, (shall we not say?) superstitious, feeling about the elements, which causes many to shrink from the communion service, as they do from no other service of religion. And a similar feeling exists among communicants, when the breaking of bread or the pouring of wine has to them an aspect or sound, that seems to them to offend against the sanctity or spirituality of the service. It is all an exaggeration, we say, of the import and of the importance of the elements. What are these elements? They are simple bread and wine; things with which we are familiar. They are but symbols and emblems, and have no importance but what they have as signs and expressions. They represent a subject; they constitute an occasion; they are the veil of entrance into holy meditations. In short, they are an emblematic representation of the death of Jesus Christ, and are no more solemn, than the *words* which express that event. He who says, seriously and deliberately, "I believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; I am grateful for his teachings and his sufferings, and I would be his disciple," has done that which is as significant, has spoken

that which is as solemn, as it is to partake of the communion.

Now let us suppose any reader, deeply and, if possible, fully impressed with the unspeakable value of this religion, regarding it as that which is dearer than life, as that which exalts the enjoyment of life into the great hope of immortality, and penetrated with the most fervent admiration and love for the suffering and glorious Author and Finisher of his faith; suppose such an one to be in an assembly where many, cherishing the same feeling with himself, were about to unite in a simple and significant act and expression of the common love and gratitude which they all felt towards Jesus and his religion. Would he not feel impelled to join with them? Would it not be a pleasure to him, would it not be a gratification to all the feelings of his heart, to join his humble and grateful testimony with theirs? And if, with these feelings, he were hindered by a circumstance so simple as the use of external emblems, so confessedly significant too, not arbitrary, but confessedly significant, introduced indeed by our Saviour himself, by a circumstance too, that occupied so small space, — if, we say, he were hindered by that, would he not exaggerate that circumstance into an undue importance? Would not his scruple be carried beyond all reasonable bounds?

Nay, we are not sure but there is a wisdom quite beyond our first and hasty thoughts, in the ordination of a ritual which does not fall in with the ordinary course of our daily usages or actions, which is therefore not familiar, which presents itself to our minds with a certain aspect of singularity and strangeness, which creates in us, at first, something like a feeling of awkwardness and difficulty. All this might seem, at first view, to be an objection; but we are not certain that there is not wisdom in the very difficulty. A ritual of this kind serves to arrest the mind, to fix attention. It is impossible to pass over it, as we are too apt to pass over other services. It is impossible to pass over it as an ordinary thing. There would be danger too, without some such memorial of Jesus, that he would cease, in process of time, to hold that place in the minds of Christians, which he ought to hold. There would be danger, if he were only mentioned, and sometimes discoursed about, as he is in their ordinary religious services, that the idea of him would gradually fade away from



their apprehensions; and the memory of the greatest Benefactor, the Redeemer of the soul, might become indistinct, vague, and powerless.

At the same time we would take occasion here to say, that, while the symbolical part of this service is adapted, and wisely adapted, to mark and signalize the occasion, that part of the service should not occupy the chief attention of the communicant. Probably, — certainly, if he has difficulties such as have been referred to, — the less he thinks about the elements, the better it will be for him. He is not to stop at the sign, but to go to the thing signified. It would be as great a mistake to have his mind chiefly occupied with the emblems, as it would be to have his mind chiefly occupied with the temple in which he was worshipping, or with his attitude in his prayers, or with the words of revelation instead of going to the meaning. The emblems simply present the subject for meditation; and, this done, the mind cannot be too much absorbed in the subject; this done, the emblems may well be dismissed from any further attention. They are indeed but feeble representations of the fact. Bread broken, and wine poured out, are but weak images of a body crucified, broken, torn with the crown of thorns and with the piercing nails, or of the life-blood poured out upon the soldier's spear. It is upon these that attention is to be fixed. It is upon the wonderful Sufferer; it is upon the pains he endured to redeem the world from sin and misery; it is upon that sublime example of patience, and meekness, and self-sacrifice; it is upon that embodied illustration of the whole spirit of Christianity; it is upon that all-embracing, all-forgiving compassion of him who loved us and died for us. And well may this great peculiarity of our religion be always kept before us in a visible image. Well may the world, so proud and so selfish, and so miserable in its pride and selfishness, pause and turn aside to gaze upon this spectacle of suffering meekness and love. Well may the world, so full of conflicts and resentments, so full too of self-inflicted sufferings and sorrows, well may it behold how undeserved suffering was once endured. Well may the world, morally diseased as it is, sick unto death in its sins, look for healing and life to him who was lifted up, even as Moses, for healing, lifted up the serpent in the wilderness. We use no mystical language here. It is no mystical healing

which the cross of Christ will impart to the soul. Let one explanation or another of this great sacrifice be true, this we say, that he who will look upon that cross and upon that glorious Sufferer, though no earthly creed teach him ; he who will sympathize, not with the suffering only, but with the great and precious end of that suffering, even to save him from guilt and destruction, and, so sympathizing, will sorrow, beneath the cross, for his offences ; he who will feel the power of all that love and meekness which there poured out their life, and will make them his soul's life, and breath, and support ; he, we say, will find that he is healed indeed from his spiritual maladies, from his pains and his fears, will find that his soul is full of quietness and enjoyment, will find a life, and a health, and a happiness, which are beyond the reach of this world's power, and of this world's imagination ! Let us, then, often gather around the cross of Jesus ; for there is no such teaching, and there is no such power in the world as in this, and there is salvation for us in none other. That cross, once the symbol of ignominy, has become the emblem of glory. Suffering for others, living for others, dying for others, instead of trampling them under foot and crushing them to the dust, — this it is that the cross holds forth, and this has become the true grandeur, the only loveliness, the consummation of virtue and goodness. Let the world learn it. Let the world gaze upon it, and grow into its likeness for ever !

We have thus spoken of the superstition in which the prevailing views of the communion service have been involved, and more fully of that difficulty about the emblematic representations in this service, which has arisen in part certainly from the superstitious regard formerly paid to those representations. For it is evident, that if there had been a commemoration service without the elements ; if, for instance, the first Sabbath of every month or of every quarter of the year had been dedicated, in discourses, and anthems, and thanksgivings, to the remembrance of Christ, all the people would have readily assembled and joined in such a service. It cannot be, either, that any unconquerable obstacle lies in the fact that our communion service implies a distinct profession of religion, as it is called ; for whole communities, as the Friends for instance, are found growing up to such profession, and taking on them far more distinctive badges of it. And there

are many around us who are willing to say, "We believe in Jesus Christ, and purpose to walk by his precepts, to be his disciples and followers," who cannot bring themselves to be communicants. The peculiarity, then, in this service, the use of elements, of emblems, is the obstacle. They are not regarded in the simple light in which they should be, as memorials of a friend, of one who died for us; but they bear an aspect of strangeness and mystery. Many minds cannot surmount these dreadful and discouraging impressions, cannot participate in this service, simply, and calmly, and joyfully; but there comes over them, whenever they think of approaching it, that shadow from the ages past, — fear, constraint, and superstition. Yet the difficulty, surely, is not in the simple ordinance, but in the minds of those who thus wrongly contemplate it.

We have applied ourselves chiefly, in these brief remarks, to the consideration of this difficulty. Let us now say something, in close, of the direct claims of this institution, though we must say it still more briefly.

In the first place, the Scriptural warrant for it appears to us very strong and satisfactory. Jesus instituted it. The institution of it was the last act before his crucifixion. It was at a very solemn moment, — "the same night in which he was betrayed." His last request to his disciples was, "Do this in remembrance of me." The ordinance they were celebrating was, indeed, the Passover; but his language invests it with a new character, and with a distinct reference to himself: "This is *my* body broken; — this is *my* blood shed for you." He was indeed about to assume openly that relation to the human race, to be the token and pledge, to all people, of God's spiritual mercies, the procurer of the soul's deliverance; even as the paschal lamb had been the sign of temporal deliverance and salvation to the Jews in Egypt. The great spiritual age was about to be introduced, and the holy rite takes a step in accordance, — from the celebration of earthly, to the celebration of divine mercies. And if it be said that the form of the original communication, as presented by the Evangelists, does not wear all the manner of a new, binding, and perpetual institution that might be expected, let it be considered, whether the admitted fact, that the observance already existed among their converts, does not account for the

alleged deficiency. The ordinance, by the supposition, was established, the sanction was already given by the Apostles in person; and therefore, when they afterwards give an account of its first observance, they very naturally give it in the form of a simple narrative. They had already instituted it; they simply tell now how it originated. That it *was* a matter of Apostolic usage there can be no doubt, from what Paul says in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, in the eleventh chapter; and the language of that passage seems very clearly to show, that it was a usage not permitted merely, but enjoined. Paul, let it be remembered, received his commission to preach the gospel after our Lord's ascension. He says that he received his gospel by the special "revelation of Jesus Christ." (Gal. i. 12.) Now, if it should be supposed that the affections of the early Christians had led them, contrary to the original design, to keep up this rite, it might have been expected that this later communication would have corrected the mistake. But what do we read? Paul says, "I have received of the Lord that which I delivered to you;" (*ἐνjoining, παράδωκα*) and then he proceeds to give them a formal account of the institution. The closing words of this account seem to have created the only difficulty about the prospective meaning of this passage. "As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death till he come." Now it has been said, that this is singular language in which to enjoin a perpetual observance, — "till he come." But observe, he does not say, "Show forth"; it is not a part of the injunction; but, "ye do show forth the Lord's death till he come." The phrase, "till he come," has various meanings. It is used in reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, to the end of the world, and to the death of individual believers. It is obvious that the latter meanings best agree with the context, and therefore deserve preference. "Ye do show forth the Lord's death till" the destruction of Jerusalem, is language which seems to have very little coherence. Or if it has coherence; if the meaning be, that the Lord's supper was to be kept up, in accommodation to Jewish prejudices, till Jerusalem was destroyed, though it is difficult to see any good reason for a limitation of the indulgence to that event; still, we say, if this were the meaning, though the Apostle's teaching would be coherent, it would be very unnatural.

It would be most unlikely that he should publish to the world and to the Jews themselves, that this observance was a mere temporary accommodation to Jewish prejudices. It would defeat the very purpose of conciliating them. The clear, natural, and coherent import of Paul's declaration, then, seems to be this: Ye "show forth the Lord's death" so long as you live, or, speaking to the whole church as a permanent body, "till the end of the world." It has been said, indeed, that Paul supposed the end of the world to be very near, and the inference would seem to be implied, that, as he was mistaken on that point, he could not be trusted on any. But if the Apostle's injunction, as *from the Lord*, is not to be taken, because his reasoning or his private opinion is alleged to be wrong, then Christianity cannot be retained, in any sense, as a special communication from heaven; and it is quite unnecessary to agitate the question, whether any Apostolic institution or instruction is binding or not. If Paul says, Ye show forth in this rite the Lord's death till the end of time, it can be of very little importance to the question of its perpetuity, whether, in his private opinion, he had a correct idea of the ending of time or not.

Neither, as a further direct argument for the institution, is the utility of impressive scenes and occasions to be forgotten. "That man," it has been well said, "is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon?" Whose love of the sublime and beautiful would not be quickened amidst the ruins of Athens or of Rome? To whom would not the Holy Bible be made more interesting and dear, as the bequest of a dying parent? Who could visit, or ever will, in the flight of future ages, visit the tomb of Washington, without being touched with a deeper reverence for the great and godlike man? And if,—to compare great things with small, and without irreverence to compare them,—if the tomb of the world's Redeemer and Saviour were among us and near us, who would not resort there in many a solemn hour, to meditate and pray, to bear up his soul amidst the trials and sorrows of life, to fix it upon that heaven whither Jesus has gone? Behold, then, the only substitute which the world, in all its regions, can have, for the associations of such an affecting and impressive spot! Behold the affecting rite, in which Jesus for ever

says, "This is my body broken for you; this is my blood shed for you; this do in remembrance of me," — the rite, in which all who observe it, "do show forth the Lord's death till he come"!

The views which we have endeavoured to present of this ordinance, let us farther say, are of a simple character and of a purely moral bearing, and they therefore urge its claim by making it intelligible and spiritual. There are feelings of the human mind, it is true, to which mystery appeals, but this is a claim which we do not choose to urge. The idea of an *atonement*, not in the scriptural sense which we profess to hold, but in the sense which many theologians have affixed to the term; the idea of an atonement, effected by the instrumentality of mere pain physical or mental, — effected by some mysterious influence of Christ's suffering on God's government, of which it is presuming much to say that we know any thing; the belief that the destinies of unnumbered millions were suspended on that hour and that agony, rather than upon the whole work of Christ of which that was the consummation; the conception of an incarnate Deity as imparting to the sufferings of Jesus a stupendous mystery and dignity; these are views which, be it our happiness or our misfortune, we cannot present as urging the eucharistic commemoration of our Saviour. We are anxious to speak with no vaunting confidence of the superior rectitude or power of the views which we do adopt. God only knows who among us is right, or who is wrong, in his creed. But this we trust we may say in all humility, — we have felt something of the power with which Jesus has spoken to the world; we have felt that he spake as never man spake; above all, we have felt that he died as never man died, — died to save us from worse death, — died to set forth a pledge of God's everlasting love, and an example of undying, immortal, all-conquering virtue; that he died, in one word, to procure for us, the dearest, the most precious, the most exalted good that can ever bless any creature. This great and wonderful Being, — however much more others may esteem and love him; we cannot say how much or whether any more; we cannot contend with them in that unseemly strife, — but this great and wonderful Being, in our humble measure, we venerate, we love. We may not ascribe to him precisely what some of our brethren do, but we feel

that if our hearts were to break with gratitude, they could not express all that we owe to him. For it is to him preëminently, under God, that we refer every thing most dear in existence, and most glorious in the hope of heaven, — pardon and purification, progress in virtue and communion with God, and the consciousness of a commencing immortality. Therefore would we ever, so long as our lives last, celebrate, with precious and joyful memorials, this chief Friend of our lives, this unerring Guide to heaven, the Son of God, the Saviour of the world ; and surely we cannot fear that we shall offend God in so doing. Whatever any one may feel, with regard to the Scriptural obligation to this observance, he cannot suppose that God will be displeased with the sincere and humble offering of his gratitude for redeeming mercy. And who can doubt, — if a whole congregation felt these sentiments which we have expressed, if all hearts had been engaged in deep meditation, and had been moved and melted with the holy themes of religion, and had felt the strong desire awakened within them, to lead holy lives, — who can doubt that a solemn acknowledgment of Jesus as their Guide and Saviour, on the part of the whole people, that a solemn avowal of their sense of the importance of religion, and of a purpose and pledge to be faithful and devoted Christians, would strengthen their common purposes, confirm their joint resolutions, give them all firmness, consistency, and peace of mind, and be more likely to send them forth from the house of prayer clothed with the whole armour of God, “ to fight the good fight ” with evil passions and temptations, and to overcome the hostile powers of an ensnaring and corrupting world ? When the fathers of our country, in its great and perilous hour, *pledged* their lives to its service, was not that a suitable and useful action ? Did it not tend to produce mutual confidence, to strengthen each one and all of them, to bind together that patriotic band in a more absolute devotion to the great cause they had undertaken to sustain ? And is not the whole life of every people a great and perilous conflict with sin ? And if the world is full of pledges to fidelity in every other cause, political, commercial, or social ; shall not the great cause of religion, of all individual, and social, and eternal well-being have any pledge of fidelity to it ?

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ART. I. — *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern, in Four Books, much Corrected, Enlarged and Improved, from the Primary Authorities*; by JOHN LAWRENCE VON MOSHEIM, D. D., Chancellor of the University of Gottingen. *A New and Literal Translation, from the Original Latin, with copious Additional Notes, Original and Selected*; by JAMES MURDOCK, D. D. New Haven. A. H. Maltby. 1832. 3 vols. 8vo.

WE were prepared to think well of this work from the specimen we have before had of the translator's skill and candor. Nor have our expectations been disappointed; for the few slight errors, which such an examination of Dr. Murdock's present performance as we have given, has enabled us to detect, are not of a nature to impeach his character for impartiality and diligence. On the whole, the work does him great honor, and is creditable to the theological literature of our country.

The History of Mosheim, or Von Mosheim, for so we find we must now call him, has been long and extensively read. Its accuracy, in general, has stood the test of examination; and the work, though not of a remarkably philosophical character, and greatly injured, as we think, by the old and absurd division by centuries, has been deservedly in high esteem, and, with all its defects, has really great merit. The principal objections to it, in the form in which it has been known to the English reader, according to Dr. Murdock, are a faulty translation, and want of references to more copi-



ous sources of information. The translation does not profess to be a literal one. Dr. Maclaine very frankly tells us, that it was his aim to adhere rather to the spirit of his author, than to his mode of expression, which wants, he says, the ease and flow so agreeable to the ear; and that he took the liberty occasionally to add a few sentences, for the sake of illustration, point, or finish. The result, says Dr. Murdock, has been, that he has not only "essentially changed the style," but "greatly colored, and altered in many places, the *sentiments* of the historian." "In short," says he "he has *paraphrased* rather than *translated* a large part of the work. The book is thus rendered heavy and tedious to the reader, by its superfluity of words; and likewise obscure and indefinite, and sometimes self-contradictory, by the looseness of its unguarded statements." One consequence has been, that Mosheim has been repeatedly and severely censured for what is, in fact, a fault of his translator.

The above mentioned and other deficiencies and faults, Dr. Murdock has attempted to remedy, first, by giving an entirely new version, "close, literal, — containing neither more nor less than the original, and presenting the exact thoughts of the author in the same direct, artless, and lucid manner, with as much similarity in the phraseology and modes of expression, as the idiom of the two languages would admit."

His greatest task, however, as he assures us, has not been that of translation. He has throughout, he says, compared the statements of Dr. Mosheim with the various original and secondary sources of information; he has examined his facts and weighed his reasonings, and where he has detected, or supposed he has detected, errors or deficiencies, he has offered, in the form of notes, "such statements or criticisms as he deemed necessary." When Dr. Mosheim differs from other historians of note, the difference is pointed out, the opinions of other writers are given, and the reader is left to draw his own inferences. Much also has been added in the department of biography. All the ancient Fathers, and eminent individuals named by Mosheim down to the period of the Reformation, have each a separate note appropriated to them, "containing brief notices of the most material things known concerning them." Much critical attention has also been bestowed on *doctrinal controversies*, on *heresies* and *sects*, on "the origin and history of the Reformation," and "the his-

tory of the English and Scottish churches, and of the English dissenters." Copious references are given particularly to writers who have appeared since the time of Mosheim. The best of Maclaine's notes have been retained, and others are added from J. R. Schlegel, and Von Einem, who have given German translations of Mosheim, and from Schroeckh, Neander, and others.

Such is the account which Dr. Murdock, in his Preface, has given of his labors and of their object. We think that he has been, in the main, successful. It is true, his toils have imparted to the work somewhat of a heterogeneous character. In its present form it is not entirely popular, and a great part of the notes will be passed over by the unlearned reader as useless. The translation, however, is designed, as was the original, says Dr. Murdock, particularly to be a guide to "the more intelligent, and especially the younger clergy," who may wish to extend their researches, furnishing them with "constant references to authorities, and to additional sources of information," and at the same time, "affording of itself a good general knowledge of the whole subject" of ecclesiastical history. In many respects it is well fitted to answer this end, notwithstanding the defect, already alluded to, in the original plan. This defect we consider a very serious one, and the student in ecclesiastical history is yet in want of something exactly suited to the purpose of directing and facilitating his inquiries.\*

The version of Dr. Murdock is, for the most part, what, as we have said, it was designed to be, exceedingly literal. It has not the fullness and rotundity of Maclaine's, but generally much better represents the sense of the original. Those who have been acquainted with Mosheim only through the medium of Maclaine's version, may be surprised to learn that his style is remarkable for its brevity and directness. It is simple, clear, and definite. These qualities Dr. Murdock has in a great measure retained. The effect of adhering rigidly to the letter of the original, however, has been occa-

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\* Among the smaller compends for this purpose, we have met with none with which we have been so much pleased as with the little work of Schroeckh, "*Historia Religionis et Ecclesie Christiane*,"—a translation of which, with additional notes and references, would form no unsuitable companion to Muenscher's "*Elements*." The edition before us is the fifth, and was published in 1808. 8vo. pp. 333.

sionally to give the style of his translation a little the appearance of stiffness, not to say awkwardness, of expression. Regarded merely as an English style, it might, perhaps, be pronounced formal, hard, and dry. We are not certain that a little more ease and freedom might not have been attained, consistently with fidelity to his author. To tell the truth, we think that in his eagerness to avoid the prolixness and verbosity of Maclaine, he has sometimes been betrayed into the opposite extreme. Occasionally, too, either from inadvertency, or a desire to shun a coincidence of expression with his predecessor, he has been less successful in seizing the grace and propriety of the original phraseology. Still we hesitate not to say that his version, as a whole, is vastly preferable to that of the former translator.

The following short extract from the commencement of the First Chapter will give the reader some general notion of the difference of style in the two performances. We subjoin the original Latin at the foot of the page.\*

"A great part of the world was become subject to the Roman Empire, when Jesus Christ made his appearance upon earth. The remoter nations, *which had submitted to the yoke of this mighty empire*, were ruled, either by Roman governors invested with temporary commissions, or by their own princes and laws, in subordination to the republic, whose sovereignty was to be acknowledged, *and from which the conquered kings that were continued in their dominions, derived their borrowed majesty*. At the same time the Roman people and *their venerable senate*, though they had not lost all shadow of liberty, were yet, in reality, reduced to a state of servile submission to Augustus *Cæsar, who by artifice, perfidy, and bloodshed, had proceeded to an enormous degree of power*, and united in his own person the *pompous* titles of emperor, sovereign pontiff, censor, tribune of the people, proconsul; in a word, all the great offices

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\* "Magna orbis terrarum, quum Deus hominem indueret, populo Romano parebat. Is remotiores gentes aut per gubernatores, Prædesque Roma missos, non vero perpetuos, administrabat, aut suis ita Regibus et institutis uti patiebatur, ut magistratam tamen et supremam potestatem rei publicæ Romanæ venerarentur. Ipse vero Senatus, populusque Romanus, speciem licet omnem libertatis haud amisisset, re vera tamen uni serviebat Augusto, Imperatori, Pontifici Maximo, Censori, Tribuno plebis, Proconsuli, omnibus, ut verbo dicam, reipublicæ muneribus, in quibus dignitatis et auctoritatis publicæ aliquid erat, ornato." Mosh. Inst. Hist. Eccles. p. 11. ed. Helms. 1764.

of the state." — *Maclaine's Translation*, Vol. i. pp. 19, 20. ed. Charlestown.

"At the time when God became incarnate, a great part of the world was subject to the Romans. Their remoter provinces they either ruled by means of temporary governors and presidents sent from Rome, or suffered to live under their own kings and laws, subject to the sovereign control of the Roman republic. The senate and citizens of Rome, though not deprived of all appearance of liberty, were really under the authority of one man, *Augustus*; who was clothed with the titles of Emperor, Pontifex Maximus, Censor, Tribune of the people, Proconsul; in a word, with every office which conferred general power and preëminence in the commonwealth." — *Dr. Murdock's Translation*, Vol. i. p. 25.

It will be perceived, upon a comparison of the two translations with the original, that Dr. Murdock's, though in some respects faulty,\* is far the more faithful of the two. The words *italicized* in the version of Maclaine, it will be seen, are additions of his own. The doctrine of the Divine incarnation which Mosheim has recognised, it will be observed, is sunk by Maclaine, whose translation, in this respect, is in better taste than the original, which confounds speculation with fact. Still the principle on which Dr. Murdock has proceeded, that is, to make Mosheim say in English precisely what he has said in Latin, and neither more nor less, is, according to our views, the only correct principle of translation. We confess we are totally opposed to this system of alteration and mutilation in works of history and literature.

But after all, the great value of the work consists in the

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\* Is it mere affectation in Dr. Murdock to say, "The senate and citizens of Rome?" "Senatus, populusque Romanus." And why retain "Pontifex Maximus," in the translation? The word "amisisset" is better translated *lost* as Maclaine has it, than *deprived*, which Dr. Murdock has substituted. The term in the original is well chosen, and in this case, at least, Dr. Murdock would have done well to render his version what it professes to be, strictly "*literal*." Occasional minute blemishes of this sort occur throughout Dr. Murdock's volumes. His expressions, though in general correct and appropriate, are now and then faulty, and would almost seem, at first view, to argue a want of nice discrimination and taste in the use of words. The heathen gods and goddesses were "patterns, rather of preëminent *vitiosity*, than of virtue," is hardly good English, and by no means does justice to the original — "*insignium potius vitiorum et scelerum, quam virtutum, exempla suppeditabant.*"

notes. To the inquirer these will be found exceedingly useful. They who have engaged in historical researches, and they alone, are qualified to estimate fully the importance of works which indicate the sources where the desired information may be found. By such works the labor of the student is immensely abridged, and he is saved perhaps weeks and months of wearisome toil. Dr. Murdock has judiciously transferred to his pages many valuable remarks from Mosheim's "Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians before the time of Constantine," a work, by the way, which ought to be republished among us. The notes from Schlegel, and Von Einem, particularly the former, and occasional extracts from Walch, constitute a valuable addition. The references to authorities appear to be particularly full as regards modern German writers, who since the time of Mosheim have been indefatigable laborers in the field of Christian antiquity. With regard to the biographical notices, in which Mosheim has dealt very sparingly, Dr. Murdock has left us little to desire. His sketches, to be sure, are necessarily very brief; but he has said something, we believe, of every one, good, bad, or indifferent, saint or sinner, who, was ever heard of in the annals of ecclesiastical story. At the close of the several earlier centuries he has subjoined a list of inferior writers not mentioned by Mosheim, with some few facts and dates respecting them, taken chiefly from the "Historia Literaria" of Dr. Cave.

We have discovered no very important errors in Dr. Murdock's performance; but occasional blemishes, as before said, and a few marks of inadvertency, not to say carelessness, we think, here and there appear. In his biographical sketches he is sometimes a little more positive, as it appears to us, than the evidence authorizes. The fact is, in regard to many of the Fathers at least, that the times of their birth, conversion, and death, the dates of their several works, in a word, the chronology of their lives generally, and the authorship of several of the productions attributed to them, are involved in no little obscurity, and it will not do for a writer to be too confident that he has obtained the exact truth.

Dr. Murdock seems inclined to assert the genuineness of some of the works ascribed to the Apostolic Fathers in terms much stronger than we should venture to use. Dr. Semler,

who, according to Herbert Marsh,\* "has made a more particular study of ecclesiastical history perhaps than any man that ever lived," without hesitation rejects all of them as spurious,† and we are not aware that more recent inquiries have brought to light any new arguments in favor of their genuineness. The controversy does not appear to have engaged the attention of Dr. Murdock. At least, he has added nothing material to Mosheim's catalogue of references to the old and well known writers on the subject. Some allowance, however, must be made for the want of any libraries deserving the name in this country, in consequence of which the inquirer becomes embarrassed at every step. Instead of finding the books he needs on the shelves of our public libraries, he is compelled to suspend his researches till he can send for them across the Atlantic. This, besides that it requires no ordinary stock of patience, demands, considering the high duties on foreign books, ample funds, which it seldom falls to the lot of professional men, who are the principal contributors to the literature of our country, to enjoy. As regards a certain class of books, the tax amounts almost to a total prohibition of their use. The act imposing it, is intended, we suppose, to protect American manufactures. But such, as every one, who knows any thing of the subject, is aware, is not its practical operation; for the class of books in question are many of them such as we cannot hope to see republished here, at least for a hundred years to come. To all practical purposes, the duty is neither more nor less than a tax on knowledge.

But to proceed with our remarks upon Dr. Murdock, we are surprised to find the "Hortatory Address," and the "Oration" to the Greeks, and the fragment of the piece on the "Monarchy of God," placed by him among the undisputed writings of Justin Martyr. The genuineness of the first is, to say the least, matter of great doubt, and the evidence in favor of the others weaker still.‡

The genuineness of the treatise on the "Death of the Persecutors," ascribed to Lactantius, too, we had supposed

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\* Michaelis' Introduction. Vol. i. p. 360. ed. London, 1819.

† Comment. Hist. de Antiquo Christianorum Statu.

‡ See Christian Examiner, New Series, Vol. ii. p. 149.

by no means matter of certainty. Dr. Murdock pronounces quite authoritatively, that "there is no good reason to doubt its genuineness." Yet such men as Lardner, Le Nourry, Le Clerc, Maffei, and other very judicious critics, have thought that they discovered "good reason" for hesitating to receive it as a work of Lactantius. They may have been mistaken. We do not say that they were not. Still it requires some little confidence to assert peremptorily that a book is genuine in opposition to the decision of such writers.

Dr. Murdock is not quite accurate, we think, in the account he gives of the sentiments of Origen.\* He enumerates as among the "general truths," which Origen "did not permit to be called in question for a moment," the proposition, that "the Holy Spirit, in honor and dignity, is joined with the Father and Son." If by this, Dr. Murdock means to insinuate, as we suppose he does, that Origen regarded the Spirit as equal with the Father and Son, the representation is erroneous. This doctrine, Origen, as is evident from the whole tenor of his writings, never thought of asserting. Far from being a truth which he never "permits to be called in question," it is perpetually denied by him.

It is true, Origen, according to the version of Rufinus, (who, it is to be remembered, took the liberty to alter the original when it contained expressions relating to the Son and Spirit, which seemed likely to offend Latin ears, as not sufficiently orthodox,) is made to say,† that "the Holy Spirit is associated in honor and dignity with the Father and Son," according to the traditionary doctrine; but he immediately adds that whether "begotten or unbegotten," does not appear. Instead of the expression "begotten or unbegotten," Jerome, who had access to the original, and professes to give a faithful translation in opposition to the corrupt version of Rufinus, has "made or unmade." Either expression would imply Origen's doubt, at least, of the supreme divinity of the Spirit. Jerome asserts more than this, and his language is worth quoting at length. He tells us,‡ speaking of the errors which are found in Origen's books "Of Principles," that Origen "pronounces the Spirit to be *third* in dignity and honor after the Father and Son, con-

\* Vol. i. pp. 216, 217.

† De Princip. Præf. § 4.

‡ Epist. ad Avit. 94 al. 59.

cerning which, though he says he is ignorant whether made or unmade, yet he afterwards expresses his views, affirming that nothing is unmade excepting the Father alone." This is pretty plain testimony. It is fully confirmed, however, by other ancient writers, and by passages which occur in the genuine writings of the learned Father himself. Epiphanius\* informs us that Origen pronounced the Spirit to be "a creature," and Photius says† that he affirms the "Son to have been made by the Father, and the Holy Spirit by the Son." The latter doctrine certainly seems to be plainly taught by Origen in his commentary on John i. 3. "All things were made by," or through, "him," that is, the Son, as an instrument. Among the things thus made, Origen, if we understand him, includes the Spirit.‡ How then can Dr. Murdock affirm that Origen regarded the proposition, that the Spirit is "joined in honor and dignity with the Father and Son," as a truth, "not to be called in question," using the terms of the proposition, as we suppose, in the modern sense, for he does not intimate that he employs them in any other?

Another error of less magnitude occurs in Dr. Murdock's statement of the views of Origen. He speaks of the Son as having, according to Origen, "*aided* the father in the whole work of creation." The term used by Origen and the Fathers generally to express the office of the Son in the work of creation is *ministered*, which, as they employed it, uniformly implies *secondary agency*. They speak of the Son not as the coadjutor, but as the *instrument* of the Father in the work of creation. This is well known to all who have attentively read the Fathers of the first three centuries.

Dr. Murdock appears to be well satisfied with the Orthodoxy of the Fathers. That of Rufinus, he thinks, ought never to have been called in question, and he has little fault to find with Origen's even. He must either be very indulgent in his notions of Orthodoxy, or he cannot have studied the sentiments of the Fathers very profoundly. Perhaps the former, for he has occasionally expressed himself with great liberality.

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\* Hæc. 64. — Adv. Orig. § 5, 8.

† Biblioth. cod. 8. Origen, says Photius, asserted that the Spirit prevades only the sanctified, the Son, or *logos*, things endowed with reason, the Father, all things. *ib.*

‡ Opp. iv. pp. 60, 61. See also Huet. Orig. Lib. II. Quæst. 2. n. 21 — 24.



Thus, speaking of the Apostle's Creed, he says,\* "It is a most valuable monument of the church; because it shows what, in the early ages, were considered as the great, the peculiar, and the essential doctrines of the Gospel; viz. those all-important *facts*, which are summarily recounted in this Creed." This is all very well. To such Orthodoxy we have no objection.

The question of the Orthodoxy of the Fathers, however, does not appear to be one on which Dr. Murdock has bestowed any very particular attention. His references on the subject are singularly defective. He directs the attention of his readers to Bishop Bull,† but has not, we believe, once named in this connexion, his antagonist, Whitby, who gave as thorough a refutation of the Bishop's work, we suppose it will be admitted by all competent judges, as any book ever received.‡ Whiston and Priestley share a similar fate. Yet the former, certainly, had no contemptible knowledge of Christian antiquity, as is fully shown by his "Primitive Christianity Revived." We know that it has become a fashion with writers of a certain class to speak disparagingly of the labors of Dr. Priestley, and we mean not to say that he had studied the Fathers as profoundly and as extensively as some continental scholars before and since his time. But on certain points, his examination of their writings appears to have been conducted with no little care; and though he may have fallen into some trifling errors, his general conclusions yet remain unshaken.

We would not be understood to insinuate that these omissions (and we could name others equally striking) are to be attributed to design, on the part of Dr. Murdock; for he has given ample proofs of candor. They authorize the suspicion, however, that there is a class of writers, — certainly not beneath notice, — on the subject of Christian antiquity, with which he has not been conversant. Such omissions appear the more extraordinary, when we recollect that he professes to have bestowed "much and critical attention" on the Fathers, and especially on controversies relating to doctrines. While authors of the above description are not deemed worthy of a single reference, the name of so prejudiced a

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\* Vol. i. p. 96.

† Defensio Fidei Nicænæ.

‡ Disquisitiones Modestæ in Bulli Defensionem Fid. Nic.

writer as Milner, occurs on an average, we should say, throughout the first volume, to which our examination has been chiefly confined, once at least in every twenty or thirty pages.

Dr. Murdock, if we understand him, asserts,\* that Eusebius of Nicomedia was banished by the council of Nice. Such however does not appear to be the fact. Secundus of Ptolemais, one of the banished, reproached him to his face, with having subscribed the creed of the council to *save himself from exile*. He was banished, however, as the historian Philostorgius tells us, within three months after the dissolution of the council, as it would seem by command of the Emperor, on the charge of having relapsed into his former error, and afforded shelter to certain Arians who had been compelled to fly from Alexandria.†

Again, Dr. Murdock says that the council of Bithynia, of which we have an account in Sozomen,‡ and which was the first Arian council, “is either wholly overlooked by modern writers, or is confounded with that of Antioch in the year 330.”§ This must be a mistake. It is certainly mentioned and obviously without the confusion alluded to, by Maimbourg,|| by Le Clerc,¶ by Du Pin,\*\* by Fleury,†† by Cave,‡‡ by Whitby,\$\$ by Tillemont,||| and we know not by how many others.

We feel constrained to say that the work abounds with shameful errors of the press. Dr. Murdock was certainly not fortunate in his *proof* readers. Thus we have among the Fathers, “Clemment,” “Irenaceus,” “Uyprian,” and “Fusebius.” We hear of “Rufinus” and “Ruffinus,”

\* Vol. i. p. 298.

† See Christian Examiner, Vol. vii. p. 318, New Series.

‡ Hist. Lib. i. c. 15.

§ Vol. i. p. 345.

|| Histoire de l'Arianisme, Tom. i. p. 38.

¶ Biblioth. Univ. et Hist. Tom. x. p. 425.

\*\* Nouv. Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccles. Tom. ii. p. 314. ed. Paris. 1683.

†† Histoire Eccles. Liv. 10. § 37.

‡‡ Life of Athanasius, § 2.

\$\$\$ Disquis. Modest. Lib. ii. § 7.

||| New History of Ecclesiastical Writers. Vol. i. p. 250. London, 1672. See also his History of the Arians. In mentioning the council in a former number of this work we certainly had no suspicion that we were alluding to a fact “generally overlooked by modern writers.” See Christian Examiner, Vol. vii. p. 308 and p. 313, New Series.

one form of writing the name occurring in Dr. Murdock's Notes, about as often as the other; of Ammonius "Sacac" and Ammonius "Saccas"; of Cæsarea, and "Caserea;" of the "catechetie" school of Alexandria, and other things equally novel and strange. We are referred to "*N. Lardner's Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation.*" We do not recollect to have ever heard of this work before. John Leland wrote a book with a similar title, which we suspect is the treatise intended.

Dr. Murdock seems to consider it an advantage of the present translation, that each volume, being furnished with a separate index, is "a complete and independent work of itself." Now, not to cavil at this language, which, however, to our ears sounds a little extraordinary as applied to the several volumes of an historical work, the want of a general index, is, we think, a deficiency, which is by no means compensated by the possession of a separate index to each volume.

These many appear trifling criticisms, and we may seem to betray a disposition to find fault. We have no such disposition. The general tone of our remarks will abundantly show, that we are influenced by no unfriendly feeling toward Dr. Murdock. The defects we have pointed out are not such as to affect very materially the character of his work, with which we have professed ourselves satisfied. We have only to thank the writer, in conclusion, for the service he has rendered to the cause of theological learning in our country, and express the hope that he may be induced to continue his very useful labors.

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ART. II. — *Reasons for the Unitarian Belief, plainly stated in Nine Lectures*, by LUTHER HAMILTON, Minister of the First Congregational Society in Taunton. Boston. L. C. Bowles. 1830. 12mo. pp. 137.

THIS book should have received from us an earlier notice; and our only apology for neglecting it, is, that we find it impossible to review all religious works of merit at the time of their appearance, and not easy, afterwards, to make up our

arrears. Our silence in the present case has not been owing to any want of a favorable estimation of Mr. Hamilton's Lectures, for we regarded them as valuable contributions to our stock of controversial and doctrinal theology, when we first read them, and we so regard them now.

The first of these Lectures is designed to prove the utility of religious inquiry and discussion, and is an excellent introduction to the remainder of the course. The second is on the Unity of God. The third is occupied in showing, that the Divine Person whom our Saviour and his Apostles commonly called "the Father," is the only true God. In the fourth, proof is abundantly offered, that Jesus Christ was, both in nature and office, inferior to and dependent upon the Father. The fifth is on the meaning of the phrase "Holy Spirit," in which the writer maintains the opinion, that it means commonly, if not invariably, in the New Testament, miraculous gifts. The sixth consists of comments on the evidence which is chiefly relied on, to prove the doctrine of the Trinity. The seventh is on the death of Christ. The eighth treats of the character of man as a moral being; and the ninth of the sufficiency of the Scriptures.

Mr. Hamilton is remarkably happy in presenting well known passages of Scripture in the most convincing positions for the argument he has in hand. They are passages which we have always seen to be anti-trinitarian, but not so positively and exclusively so as since we have been led by his few comments upon them to behold them in a fresher and stronger light. The comments are not labored or ingenious, but quite simple and direct. Take the following instance:

"In reply to the scribe's question, 'Which is the first commandment of all?' our Saviour answered and announced the doctrine of the unity of God in the language of the Old Testament. 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord.' Observe that Christ did not intimate at this or any other time, that he had any new revelation to make, or any new doctrine to teach, in relation to the unity of God. But his language should be understood as a clear declaration to the contrary, — a declaration, that he himself received the doctrine in the *same sense*, in which it was understood by his nation generally. *The Jews have always worshipped God as one, absolutely and perfectly one being, mind, spirit, or person.*" — pp. 15, 16.

Here is another :

"I now invite your attention to another remarkable passage ; remarkable because there could not have been stronger testimony given to the great truth, that the Divine Person called 'the Father,' is alone the only true God. I refer to the language of Christ as recorded by John xvii. 3.

"It was on an interesting occasion not long before our Saviour's crucifixion, after he had discoursed to his disciples on the things which should happen subsequently to his death, that he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, — 'Father, the hour is come, glorify thy Son,' — and in the course of his prayer — 'This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.' To whom was this language addressed ? — This is the only inquiry that we need make, that we may learn who is the only true God. Observe that Jesus Christ addresses this prayer to a Divine Person ; — 'that they might know *thee*, the only true God' ; and from the commencement of the prayer it is manifest that this Divine Person is *the one*, who, in the New Testament, is commonly denominated 'the Father.' Christ's words are, — 'Father, the hour is come' — 'This is life eternal, that they might know *thee*, the only true God.' It is the Father alone who is here called the only true God ; the Father alone, therefore, is the one Jehovah whom the Jews worshipped. Besides, if the Divine Person called the Father is the *only* true God, no *other* person can be the true God. And is not that language of Christ in this prayer absolute, and exclusive of the claims of all other persons or beings to supreme worship ? 'That they might know *Thee, the only true God.*' When he, whom the Father had sanctified and sent into the world, declares in a solemn act of worship, that the person called the Father is the only true God, what presumption is it in an uninspired, fallible man, to affirm that any *other* person is the only true God. We have Christ's example in an act of religious worship, and his solemn declaration, to teach us that only the Father is the true God. This is the natural and obvious interpretation of the passage." — pp. 25, 26.

The following extract from the fifth Lecture is a still more striking example of the author's clear manner of exhibiting Scripture evidence. It is a comment on a text, which appears to us conclusive against the doctrine of the distinct personality of the holy spirit.

"Before I leave this branch of my subject, I would invite your attention to a striking passage in John vii. 39. 'This he spake of the spirit, which they that believe on him should receive; for the holy ghost was not yet given, for Jesus was not yet glorified.' The word 'given' is not in the original, and it is accordingly, in the common version, printed in italics. The Evangelist, then, does affirm in so many words, 'There was no holy spirit yet, because Jesus was not yet glorified!' The meaning of this declaration agrees perfectly with the signification which I think the phrase almost always has in the New Testament; but it is utterly inconsistent with the doctrine that there is an eternal intelligent agent, distinct from the Father and equal with him, and whose appropriate or distinguishing name was, Holy Spirit. 'There was no holy spirit yet,' says the sacred writer; meaning that there had not been any communication of the extraordinary gifts which Jesus had promised, because he was not yet glorified. Had it been the doctrine of Christ, or the doctrine of the ancient prophets, that there is a person or being eternal, almighty, infinite, equal with the Father, and at the same time distinct from him, and whose distinguishing name was Holy Spirit; who can believe that the Evangelist would have made the declaration, 'There was no holy spirit yet, because Jesus was not yet,' " &c. — pp. 54, 55.

To those who wish to see clear and striking views of the subjects embraced in these Nine Lectures, we unhesitatingly recommend them. The author speaks as to wise men, and calls on them for their judgment. If they will hear him candidly, and as wise men should, we believe that their judgment will be most favorable to him and his cause.

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### ART. III. — *The African Repository.*

PERHAPS no professedly charitable institution ever founded in this country has been the object of more opposition, or the occasion of more prejudice, in a given number of years, than the American National Society for the Colonization of the Free Blacks. This circumstance, we confess, is not much of a marvel in our eyes. We have never expected that this Society would command universal admiration, or even approbation, so far as its principles were understood,

and still less where they were misunderstood and misrepresented. Good men might ever so devoutly pray, and ever so diligently labor, for such a consummation of unanimity, but wise men could hardly be supposed to rely upon it. There never has been, and probably never will be, — in this country, least of all others, — a project so popular as not to be obnoxious to the contradiction and the counteraction of a party. It will be opposed, if for no other reason, because it is popular.

We would not be thought to say that all the hostility, and far less all the indifference, encountered by the Colonization Society, is attributable to no other motive than this. On the contrary, while we ascribe the latter generally to a lack of information or reflection respecting the interests in question, we regard and receive the former for what it purports to be, — an hostility grounded on certain causes, and supported, after some fashion, by certain reasons, — and with this view, at this time, we propose very briefly to allude to some of those alleged causes and reasons. It remains to be seen whether the friends of African Colonization have, conscientiously, any thing more to fear from the objections, than from the exertions, of their opponents.

A writer in the last Number of this Journal, whose order of argument we shall follow to some extent, for the sake of convenience, brings forward against the Society an exposition of views which appear to be substantially identical with those of a class of people commonly called Abolitionists. These, it is well known, are not merely *anti-slavery* men; for that characteristic not only belongs also, as will be seen in the sequel, to the Colonizationists, but to all New England without doubt, and we rather apprehend to a great majority of the residue of the whole country, including the Southern States. The Abolitionists distinguish themselves by exclusively insisting, in a particular manner, on a particular mode of opposing slavery. We say exclusively, because it seems to us that they tolerate no argument, but their own. They habitually designate the Colonization Society, for example, as a set of “men-stealers!”

In justice to the writer just referred to, we should observe that he makes use of none of this foul language; and hence it is that we feel the greater willingness to notice the process of ratiocination by which he has undoubtedly persuaded him-

self, and would of course persuade his readers, to oppose and despise the institution which we have undertaken to defend. It gives us pleasure also to find that he has dropped the stale calumny about the Society's compelling, or conniving at, the compulsion of the transportation of emigrants. At least, he does not avow it as a distinct charge, though he seems to have spared no pains to extend his line of battle by introducing as many accusations as could well be made to stand together. Indeed, he talks in two or three instances of the *expulsion* of our colored population by the Society, and even professes to believe that he has shown that to be their "aim"; but as there is neither proof, nor pretence of proof, to support such a position, we are charitable enough to account for the insinuation on the score of an old habit and bad company. Whether, however, it is slander aforethought, or mere jargon (to use the only applicable word which occurs to us), may be fairly left to the conscience of the writer himself to decide.

His objections to the Society, though somewhat more formidably spread out, amount substantially to the following:

1. They propose to effect impossibilities.
2. So far as the removal of our black population is possible, it is not desirable.
3. The Society discourage and abuse the free blacks.
4. They encourage slavery and the slave-trade.
5. They use inconsistent and contrary arguments in their appeals to the North and the South respectively.

Previously to replying to any of these charges in detail, but in general reference to them all, let us summarily explain what we understand to have been, and to be, the real objects of the Colonization Society. This may be considered the more proper, that it is not uncommon among our fellow citizens of this part of the country, to mistake those objects for the mere expectations or calculations of some of the individual friends of the institution, — generally of the most ardent temperament, and not always the best informed about the Society itself, its principles, or its history. The cause has unquestionably suffered, however unreasonably, by being confounded with all the multifarious schemes and whims, foreign to it in fact, but connected with it by its advocates. Let us separate, as far as justice demands, the one from the other, lest we unadvisedly imitate the example of that brilliant people of olden



time, who were somewhat needlessly frightened by mistaking a horse, with a rider on his back, for a Centaur. The Colonization Society has been made a monster of, in much the same way.

The constitution states their object to be, simply, the removal of such of our free blacks as are desirous to leave this country for a foreign one. In other words, the Society aimed at the establishment of a foreign colony of American free blacks. The place subsequently chosen as the theatre of experiment, was a territory on the coast of Western Africa, which has been called Liberia.

Now, we have no hesitation in saying, that we believe such and such only to be the real design of the Society. They never have undertaken to drain this country of the slaves or of the free blacks, to suppress the African slave-trade, or to civilize the African continent. What effect upon these various communities and interests they anticipated, and still anticipate, may arise, not from the Colonization Society, but from colonization itself, is another question, — and one which will receive its due consideration hereafter. Suffice it to say for the present, that they looked with a single eye to the attainment of the purpose just named, — the foundation of the Liberian Republic, — for well known substantive reasons, and upon distinct principles, peculiar to that purpose alone, and alone sufficient, in their view, to justify the disinterested labor and expense which they proposed to bestow.

We have not here mistaken our own construction for the constitution or the declarations of the Society itself. Their official publication, "The African Repository," so often cited by this writer, is full of distinct avowals and disavowals on this point, from beginning to end. One of the first editorial articles which ever appeared in its pages, states the Society's whole plan to be the "transfer of our colored people to Africa." Again, it is to "restore them to the country of their ancestors"; and "*nothing more than this* does the Colonization Society directly propose to accomplish." \* The Secretary, in his letter to Mr. Early, of Georgia, (the same gentleman who afterwards gave his own slaves to be colonized,) expressed the same thing thus: "*The specific object to*

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\* Vol. I. p. 34.

which the operations and funds of the Society are devoted, is to transfer, with their own consent, the free people of color," &c.\* Still more distinctly, the Connecticut State Society declare, in one of their annual addresses to the public: — "The simple object of the American Colonization Society, is to *plant colonies of free blacks, from the United States, upon the coast of Africa.*"† Numberless citations might be made to the same effect.

The truth is, the opponents of the Society, when they speak of the impracticableness of its purposes, and the inadequacy of its means, substitute a theory of their own for the one professed to be that of the institution. For example, as Mr. Clay observed, at the annual meeting in 1827, in relation to two points of attack most in vogue, — "They represent that the purpose of the Society is, to export the whole African population of the United States, bond and free; and they pronounce this design unattainable." Well might he add, "Agreed; but *that is not what the Society contemplates.*"‡

In another view of the subject, our opponents confound the direct object of colonization with its ultimate possible and perhaps probable results; and they confound the *inducements* of those who encourage it, with their *plans of action*. And what, it may be asked, are or were these inducements? What direct good is there in colonization itself? What is to be, or is, the intrinsic benefit of the Liberian settlements; or, in the Society's language, of "simply planting colonies of free blacks on the coast of Africa"?

Our answer to these queries is, — The education and elevation of the free blacks themselves. This, and this alone, is, and always has been, the first and greatest object of the institution. All other objects are only consequent upon this, and, as involved within this, only make it the *more* an object.

If, for instance, this country shall ever be inhabited by white men alone, it will be because another shall be provided for the blacks, which they shall prefer to this; and which may be an asylum for such as are kept in bondage here because their masters, and the States they live in, profess their unwillingness to manumit them, or suffer them to be

\* Vol. iii. p. 290.

† Vol. iv. p. 120.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 338.

manumitted, except on condition of removal. The provision of such an asylum, say the Society, will at least be the performance of the condition required, so far as the emancipation of this class of slaves is concerned. If they shall not be liberated according to promise, our duty at least will be discharged. And meanwhile, if any other rational mode of emancipation, better than ours, or more acceptable to the parties in the case, can be devised, so much the better. We shall have done no *harm* to the slaves, at all events; and we shall also be, at all events, accomplishing, in the mean time, without any contingency, the grand direct purpose for which our institution was formed.

So, if the slave-trade, now so flagrantly carried on upon the Western Coast of Africa, shall ever be either suppressed or reduced by means of such a system of colonial, agricultural, commercial, and martial occupation of the coast, as is very generally believed, by those best informed on the subject, to be the most promising expedient for effecting that purpose, it will be brought about, so far as our settlements have a part in it, most immediately and eminently to their mercantile emolument and moral improvement; and not only by their instrumentality, but by the active services which their previously established vigor and character shall enable them to bestow to advantage. Their prosperity will be indispensable, in like manner, as a stepping-stone for reaching the natives with the influences of civilization and Christianity; — which consideration, indeed, is virtually included in the last named. Thus it is, we repeat, that the whole substantive design of the Colonization Society resolves itself into the simple and plain one, stated in their constitution as the colonization of free colored volunteers from America in Africa, and by the Connecticut Branch, as “the planting of colonies.”

No reader who is at all familiar with either the proceedings or the publications of the Society, will suspect us of having here misstated their design. For the information, however, of another class, who have endeavoured to impose on the public an imaginary design of their own for that of the institution, and then pronounced it inconsistent and impossible, — and at the same time to give some of the reasons of the real theory, — we annex a few authorities in point. “The Repository” is full of similar ones.

The Society "proposes to transfer to Africa our free people of color, and there enable them to govern themselves, and found the invaluable institutions of civil society." \*

"We are urged by self-love, — by justice and charity, — by the voice of God, — to restore them to the country of their ancestors, and to assist them there in acquiring a national existence, free, enlightened, and independent." \*

"The specific object, to which the operations and funds of the Society are devoted, is to transfer, with their own consent, the free people of color of the United States to the coast of Africa, and assist them there in founding the institutions of a free, civilized, and Christian people." †

The following passage from the address of the Connecticut Society, will explain, not only the object of the institution, but the reasoning which led to the support of it in the outset :

"What such colonies are to do for the free blacks, is not difficult to understand. *Here* the black man is degraded. You may call him free, you may protect his rights by legislation, you may invoke the spirit of humanity and Christian benevolence to bless him, but still he is degraded. A thousand malignant influences around him are conspiring to wither all that is manly and noble in his nature. But *in Africa* he becomes a member of a community in which he is not only free, but equal. There he stands up to be a man. There he has a home for himself, and for his children after him. There, as he looks around him on a soil of unrivalled and almost incredible fertility, — on the dark forest already beginning to fall at the approach of civilization, — on the varieties of mountain and valley and streams, already known by names dear to freedom and benevolence, — on all the magnificence and luxuriance of that tropical land, — he can feel that there is his home, the land of his fathers, the refuge of the exile ; and that there his children through succeeding ages shall enjoy a rich and noble inheritance. There he finds himself moved to industrious, honorable, and virtuous enterprise by all the motives that inspire and quicken the freemen of our own New England." ‡

We ask the attention of our readers to the above eloquent exposition of the views of the Colonizationists, the rather that it is passages of this kind which our writer, and the Abolitionists generally, construe into "*vilifying* the

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\* Vol. I. p. 34.

† Vol. III. p. 290.

‡ Vol. IV. p. 120.

blacks on all occasions," and "fostering an unholy prejudice." God grant that this unfortunate and abused people may meet with no worse enemies than the authors of sentiments like these! "Man-stealing" and "expulsion" indeed!

But we have not done with our evidence; we wish to bring forward enough of it, once for all. With this view we go back to the origin, not only of the Society, but of the scheme itself of colonization, as it was debated forty years ago, and from that time continually, until the theory of wisdom resulted in the exertions of benevolence. The idea originated in England, with Dr. Fothergill, that "great apostle of philanthropy," as Brissot calls him; "a project," adds that writer, "executed by the beneficent Granville Sharp, — a project for restoring the negroes to their country, to establish them there, and encourage them in the cultivation of coffee, sugar, cotton, &c., and to open a commerce with Europe."\*

Mr. Sharp's deliberations resulted in the settlement of Sierra Leone, (of which hereafter.) They were followed in *this* country first by the benevolent Dr. Thornton, who, to use Brissot's language again, "occupied himself with this consoling idea," and proposed to be himself the conductor of the American negroes who should repair to Africa.

The plan was still further developed by the Rev. Mr. Hopkins, of Newport (R. I.), who, in 1789, addressed a letter on the subject to Mr. Sharp, in which he inquired whether the New-England free blacks could have an opportunity of joining the Anglo-African establishment. Their circumstances at home, he observes, were in many respects unhappy. The whites treated them as "underlings." In fine:

"These and other considerations have led many of them to desire to return to Africa, and settle there among their equals and brethren, and in a country and climate more natural to them than this. Particularly, there are a number of religious blacks, who wish to be formed into a distinct society, and to go, with all the blacks willing to move with them, to Africa; . . . and there maintain Christianity, and spread the knowledge of it among the Africans, so far as they have opportunity; at the same time cultivating their

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\* Brissot's Travels.

lands," &c. The writer adds, that he had long been wishing to execute this plan, but wanted the necessary funds.

Once more, — our opponent himself admits Mr. Finley to have been the immediate founder of the Colonization Society. Now, what were Mr. Finley's views? We have them promulgated and authenticated in the first article ever published in the African Repository, as contained in a letter from Mr. Finley to Mr. Mumford of New York, dated in 1815.

"The longer I live," says this philanthropist, "to see the wretchedness of man, the more I admire the virtue of those who devise, and with patience labor to execute, plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject, the state of the *free blacks* has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness, too, as appears to me. Every thing connected with their condition, including their color, is against them; nor is there much prospect that their state can ever be greatly meliorated, while they shall continue among us. *Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a colony on some part of the coast of Africa, similar to the one at Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devising for them the means of getting there, and of protection and support till they were established.*"

This, then, on this authority, we conceive may be taken as the true design of the American Colonization Society, which, in less than two years from the date of the letter just cited, Mr. Finley and his friends succeeded in forming under the happiest auspices, at Washington. And now let us ask, Is this design impracticable? Has experience proved it to be so?

"Let us see," says our opponent himself, with a candor for which we gladly give him credit, — "let us see how far they have succeeded. Two hundred and eighty miles of coast are occupied by 2500 persons, who live by their labor, and worship the true God. We are told that they live in comfortable dwellings, that commerce and agriculture flourish, and that they have an effective civil and military government." And he wisely concludes to receive these statements for the truth, — which indeed he might have stated in somewhat stronger terms, — and he is therefore "*willing to believe that the emigrants have, at last, overcome the worst difficulties.*"

We are satisfied with this admission (considering the

source from which it comes), and we will therefore spare the reader those completely satisfactory and unimpeachable accounts of the Colony which have recently come in from all quarters; contenting ourselves to refer particularly to the testimony of the English naval officer, which appeared last year in the London "Amulet," — of Mrs. Kilham, the English Quakeress, — of Bishop Meade, also of England, — of the Paris *Revue Encyclopédique*, — of several of our own naval officers, — and finally of the colored gentlemen who a few months since went out as deputies from their brethren in Mississippi, for the sole purpose of ascertaining the situation of the Colony. All these articles will be found in the seventh and eighth volumes of "The Repository"; and the French account is at once the most accurate and the most favorable we have met with. There could not be a more conclusive refutation of the charge of impracticableness made against the Society's design.

But our opponent has gone into a calculation of the expense of transporting the whole free and bond colored population of this country, which, he says, would be five hundred millions of dollars; and because this cannot be done by the Colonization Society, or by any other, he concludes they can do nothing. We shall be asked, perhaps, Does not the Society actually contemplate something of this kind? Do they not hold up expectations of meliorating or removing slavery in America, and the slave-trade on the African coast? Do they not encourage in the public mind a hope of civilizing some portion at least of the African natives?

We answer to all these questions in the affirmative. We have already stated that the Society look to these things, and that they wish the public to look to them. But let it be distinctly understood how, and how far, and wherefore. They do not regard them as the object of their institution; for that object, we repeat, has been simply the establishment of an African Colony of American free blacks. They regard them as the probable or possible *results*, at some future time, — to some indefinite extent, — of the accomplishment of that object; and as so many speculative inducements to its prosecution. There may be more plausibility in some of them than in others; and much less in any of them, than in many others brought forward in favor of the Society's direct plan of Colonization; but they are at all events only

arguments, and must share the common fate of arguments in their appeal to the reason of men. If the Society had not already succeeded in their real design, as they have, it would by no means follow that they never would, merely because all the reasoning they adduce in support of it, is not indisputably conclusive. As it is, be it again understood, they have not alone the consolation that these are neither the only nor even the principal considerations in favor of their scheme; but the consolation also, that while all this discussion is going on about possibilities and probabilities, the scheme itself has been accomplished and is actually accomplishing even to the acknowledgment and content of their enemies. Their institution was formed for a certain matter-of-fact purpose, containing within itself the substantial motives which impelled them; and that purpose is achieved. A prosperous colony is in existence. It remains now to foster it in such a manner as to make the most and the best of it, be it more or less.

We think we have replied sufficiently to this writer's first charge, though our remarks have been barely defensive, and therefore, from the nature of the charge, perhaps not very clear. We will now take it upon us to do away any misunderstanding which may still exist as to what the Society expects or hopes may result from the accomplishment of their design, and how they expect it to result. The result itself must be not only wholly a matter of contingency, of course, like all other things future to human reason, and so be regarded by the Society and its friends; but in a great degree also dependent on agents over whom the Society has no control, and for whom it is in no degree responsible.

First, then, as to the removal of the colored population of the country, whether bond or free, they suppose that it need be limited in amount, as a general thing, only by the capacity of the Western Coast of Africa to receive. The restraining circumstances will be chiefly these; the cost of transportation and location, the want of territory in Africa, the reluctance of the free blacks to emigrate, and, as to those now slaves, the unwillingness of slave-owners to emancipate.

1. The cost of colonization, — if that scheme be looked to as a mode of diminishing our colored population, especially, — or if any other considerable results, foreign to the original plan of the Society itself, be expected, — must be de-



frayed by the national or state governments. This the Society have always said, and they have always disavowed the expectation of accomplishing the object just stated by their own means. How much might be done by the governments, is another matter of speculation, open to debate. Some are more sanguine than others ; but all agree that, so far as cost at least is concerned, the more money is furnished, the more good may be done, — it being always understood, of course, that the settlements in Africa are made competent to the comfortable accommodation of whatever number of colonists may be sent over. The Society will, at all events, hold itself true to its own purpose, as a charitable institution, looking principally to the welfare of the colonists themselves. If, at the same time, they can be made instrumental in doing other good, — whether political, commercial, or religious, — that good will be so much gained beyond the accomplishment of their own plan.

In this view of the matter, it must be obvious that there is no occasion to discuss at length the probable cost of transporting any given amount of our colored population. The more there are, we repeat, of suitable emigrants suitably colonized, the better, whether they cost ten dollars or one hundred dollars each. In other words, colonization may be supported to an indefinite extent, and whatever benefits are to arise from it will be proportional to the amount of support.

But without going into minutiae, as we are aware is often needlessly done by both the ardent friends and the violent enemies of the Society, we may say that the estimate of the cost of transportation which our opponent has adopted is the most flagrantly *ex parte* and extravagant which has ever been offered to the public. He borrows from Mr. Tazewell's notorious Report to the United States Senate in 1828. Now, in the outset, he should have known that this gentleman, whether slave-holder or not, is most inveterately opposed to the Society ; and knowing this, and following his own admission of the injustice done the Society by citing "*the reports of their enemies for data*," &c. — he certainly might have exercised even his own reason to better advantage. Mr. Tazewell not only puts the cost of colonization at the enormous rate of a hundred dollars a man, but, for the purpose of making his sum total still more burlesque, brings in a

gratuity of double that sum to be paid by the colonizers, as the price of each emancipated slave! It would be difficult for one familiar with the history and principles of the Society to determine which of these estimates is the more grossly absurd. What is worse, the latter item, the purchase of slaves, is charged upon the Society, by implication at least, as a part of their design. By such authority and such argument combined, does our opponent prove that the Society "reaches at impossibilities."

Any fair-minded man, disposed to discuss candidly the Society's project, — if that can be called their project, which is after all only a matter of mere speculation to some of their individual friends, — would of course say nothing of purchasing the slaves. Whether any of them ever will be purchased for colonization, or whether anything in the nature of a premium on emancipation will ever be allowed, they undertake not to say; but they are well known to disavow the intention of following either of those projects themselves. They disavow, as we have said, even the expectation of diminishing, by their own operations, the population of the free blacks of this country; and have already refused thousands of applications from people of this class for a passage to the colony. What then could they do with two millions of purchased slaves? It will be time to count the cost of this measure, whoever the paymaster may be, when the Society shall be patronized in such a manner as to enable them to multiply their accommodations in Africa to receive, and their funds to transport, any considerable portion either of the free blacks now anxious to emigrate, or of the thousands of slaves ready to be gladly liberated and furnished with the means of removal, without price, by slave-owners, and by whole slave-holding states, who wait only for the development of the Society's arrangements on the African coast.

As to the transportation, our opponent himself feels compelled to reduce Mr. Tazewell's estimation by *one half*, though in the same breath he accredits the grosser calculation. And how does he come to his own estimate? How does he refute the Society's declaration, that the cost is in fact only one half of what he considers it? He divides the *whole* income of the Society up to 1831, \$145,000, by the number of emigrants carried over, 2,500: and so makes it "as clear as a sum in simple division," that each man has

cost over fifty dollars. This is calculation again with a vengeance. It establishes—what?—the cost of individual transportation at this time? (which is the point in question;) or even the cost of the earliest transportation, when it was double what it is now? By no means. It throws not only all the costs of transportation at every date, but all the expenses of the institution,—purchase of territory, purchase of vessels, payment of agents, erection and support of colonial institutions of all kinds, and every other item of disbursement,—into one indiscriminate amalgam;—and the result, forsooth, is (“as clear as a sum in simple division”) the present cost of transporting each emigrant! We somewhat question if honest Jack, of sack memory, even in the fearful hour when he saw eleven men in doublets, could have advanced a clearer calculation than this.

Seriously, what is the truth? A respectable commercial house in Baltimore long ago offered to carry out any number of emigrants at \$20 each; of course expecting to make money by it. The first emigrants to Africa cost \$60; but the *Cyrus*, eight years since, carried out one hundred, with provisions for several months, for \$26 each; and the *Hunter*, another expedition, for less than \$20, soon afterwards. This is about the cost at the present time. It requires but little reflection to perceive, that the expense must continually diminish, not in this rapid ratio indeed, but in inverse proportion to the growth of the colony itself, the amount of its commerce, the employment of our navy on that coast, the number of emigrants constantly increasing, and all the economical improvements which must be necessarily the result of experience. There cannot be much hazard in predicting that the greater part of the emigration to Africa, twenty years hence, will in fact be paid for by the emigrants themselves, or by the various sections in which they live, as is now the case with almost all the immense emigration of the poorer classes of European population to this country.

2. Our remarks on the last topic have left little to be said respecting the other requisites to an extension of the Society's plan. As to African territory, no apprehension of a lack of it is entertained in any quarter. The coast is generally unoccupied and unclaimed, in consequence of the slave-trade, and under present circumstances is worth nothing to the natives. Hence, as our writer mentions, a tract

worth to us a million of dollars was obtained for three hundred. As he supposes an extent of "5,000 leagues" to be in the same condition, as regards the slave-trade, we can hardly doubt that enough may be procured to answer a good purpose for even "two millions" of emancipated slaves. At all events, there being two hundred and eighty miles now in the Society's possession, occupied by only three thousand colonists, they may certainly put themselves at ease on this point for some time to come.

3. A similar remark may be made as to the disposition of the free blacks to emigrate. There has always been a great number of applications for a passage which could not be gratified; and although there is (owing, as is believed, to the exertions of the Abolitionists,) some prejudice against the Society among a part of this class, this seems to have had, and to be likely to have, no perceptible effect on the aggregate amount of the proper subjects of colonization. On the contrary, their rapid increase of population widens the Society's field of enterprise; and the intelligent interest in the scheme recently awakened among them in some sections of the country, has added still more to the difficulty of meeting the numerous solicitations of candidates for the colony. Nothing but funds are wanting at this moment for the transportation of one thousand select emigrants.

4. The number of the free blacks is increasing yearly by thousands, in consequence of the voluntary emancipation of slaves by their owners; and this, notwithstanding all the checks imposed on liberation by the laws of slave-holding states, and by the humanity of owners who, for reasons too well known to be repeated here, are unwilling to emancipate except for the purpose or colonization. In Maryland alone, where there are now about 100,000 slaves and about 50,000 free blacks, the number of the former emancipated annually for the last ten years, has averaged, probably, not much less than 1,000; and hence it is, chiefly, that the slaves have been decreasing in that state for twenty years past, at the average rate of 420 each year. Some, indeed, have been sold, but many of this number will undoubtedly be given up for colonization hereafter, and so will a much greater number, that otherwise would be neither liberated nor sold. "If our people will emancipate," said a Committee of the Maryland Legislature, in their report on this subject last winter,

"when it inflicts most frequently, not only an evil upon society, but even upon the very objects of their benevolence, — if they must be restrained by law from an indulgence in mistaken humanity, at the risk of injuring the community, — *will they cease to emancipate when real humanity and the public good require them to do so? when they see the state relieved [by colonization] and the objects of the bounty benefited?*"\* The same reasoning applies to Virginia and other states, at large, as well as to numerous slave-holders in every other section of the country. True, the Society have as yet colonized only a few hundreds of the class referred to. But the question is now, how many of them might be colonized if the work should be undertaken by those who have the actual interest in it, and the actual power to do it? We are discussing, not the Society's plan, but the extent to which that plan may be adopted by other agents.

This, then, is their doctrine, in regard to the removal of our colored population to Africa. They expect to maintain, or provide for the maintainance of, the colony already established; and to continue to extend it, so long and so far as circumstances may permit. Beyond this, they invite the action of the national and state governments, in modes and degrees to be determined by the latter.

What we have said of the removal of the blacks as a potential result of the accomplishment of the Society's design, applies generally to the effect which their operations may have on the civilization of the Africans, and on the suppression of the slave-trade. Both these desirable objects must of course be effected very gradually, and it would be preposterous to expect much in this line from a colony still in its infancy. It may, however, be fairly said in general terms, that much good may be expected, even though the Society should continue its operations unassisted by higher powers. Our opponent indeed denies that the slave-trade can be attacked to any purpose in Africa. And why? Because "over the sellers in Africa we have no power, moral or physical," and any other supposition is "repugnant to common sense." Now, we need not observe that this is only an assertion at the best; only taking for granted the point in dispute. The Society argue, on the other hand,

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\* Repository, Vol. viii. p. 52.

that the occupation itself of the coast, gives them, so far, power not only over the sellers but over the buyers. Indeed, it is admitted that "the colony may break up the factories within its own limits"; and what is that but a physical power over both buyers and sellers for an extent of two hundred and eighty miles? Indeed, they have already done this. From the same authority, (Mr. Dailey, of Monrovia,) who is cited by this writer as suggesting that there is still one factory left, we have also the information *that from the port of Monrovia alone, before the colony was founded, the traders were in the habit of carrying off 5,000 slaves a year.* Does the writer mean to deny that this is exercising any "power," or breaking up a factory to any "purpose," because, forsooth, slaves may still be procured on the coast of Guinea? What, we repeat, is the occupation of the coast but physical power?

And is it really so "repugnant to common sense" to believe that this physical power may extend *beyond* the Liberian limits? If the colony continues to multiply and fill the coast, will not its commerce probably increase? Will it not enable the navy of this government to execute its decrees against the slave-trade more efficiently than it has done? Is there no possibility that the settlements may be spread farther along the coast, sooner or later, and will not physical power be extended in proportion? We cheerfully submit these queries, together with even our opponent's scanty admission of what the Society has already done, to the deliberate consideration of the reader.

For ourselves we are free to say, we believe colonization to be the *only* feasible mode of suppressing the trade; and especially to be the mode which, above all others, will bring to bear upon that outrageous enormity the utmost influence of both physical and moral power. We believe not only that the traders may be kept off the coast just in proportion as this plan is extended and made subservient to that end, as it may be; but that the natives may be made, generally, an agricultural and commercial people; that they have extraordinary resources and a strong disposition for such a mode of life; and that, in the language of Mungo Park, "nothing is wanting to this end but example to enlighten the minds of the natives, and instruction to enable them to direct their industry to proper objects." We might confirm this opinion by the almost universal authority of writers upon the African

Continent, and we might illustrate our meaning much more fully by going into minutiae on all the points we have stated ; but our limits do not allow such a discussion, and we feel content to leave the subject to the "common sense" of all candid persons, as it is. Let us only suggest, that, as we suppose, our opponent's "5,000 leagues" of coast, which he calls "one extended mart for slaves," may, as regards Western Africa, be properly reduced to about 3,000 miles ; that a considerable part of this is under the "physical power" of Sierra Leone ; and that the residue is in a situation to be occupied and fortified to any extent by the establishment of a civilized power.

We have done with the ultimate arguments, as they may be called, in favor of colonization. And let us again ask, has their plausibility or absurdity, be it greater or less, anything to do with the practicability of colonization itself? Has not the latter been proved in the establishment, by the humble efforts of this private Society, nominally within sixteen years, and virtually within twelve, of a colony of three thousand free blacks, who "live by their labor and worship the true God?" Can the Society, then, be fairly accused of having either adopted an impossible plan, or of having failed to pursue their plan, such as it is, with extraordinary diligence, and a success worthy of all admiration and praise? We think they cannot. We know not, in the history of nations in all times, the instance of a nobler moral energy crowned with a more consummate triumph.

That we may not be thought to have misrepresented, or mistaken our own principles for the Society's, in the preceding discussion, we subjoin a few quotations in point.

"It has been sneeringly asked if we hoped to effect a work so mighty as the removal of the free people of color, &c. We answer, No, — as well might we undertake, by throwing pebbles at the pyramids, to lay them prostrate on the ground." — *Blackford's Address before the Aux. Col. Soc. of Fredericksburg, Va.\**

"Deeply conscious of their inability, without national aid, to remove, &c., they did indulge the hope, which has been fully realized, that zeal and perseverance would enable them to transport as many as would illustrate the feasibility of the scheme." — *Ibid.*

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\* Repository, Vol. iv. p. 74.

"Should the mighty scheme not be realized in all its parts, and to its full extent, blessings will nevertheless be attained proportionate," &c. — *Ibid.*

"And if our Colony should exert a silent and persuasive influence to voluntary emancipation, &c., this, without constituting an objection, would enhance the importance of the Society, and give new interest to the Colony." — *Letter to Mr. Early.\**

"These labors have, by the favor of Providence, been conducted to a favorable issue; and they now present themselves before you, with the power of showing that *all that could reasonably be expected to be done by their instrumentality, has been accomplished.*" †

Passages like these might be quoted without end; but the last, being part of the Memorial addressed a few years since by the National Society to the Legislatures of all the States, will probably be deemed conclusive authority. Let it be understood that we bring it forward not as proof of what the Society has effected, but simply as proof of what they have considered and declared to be their object.

We have alluded to the charge of vilifying the free blacks, brought against the Society, as being wholly without foundation. The Society was originally, and still is, a charitable institution, created and conducted, with a remote view to other benefits indeed, but primarily for the welfare of the free blacks; and the solicitations of some of that number in New England were in fact the earliest inducement to the agitation of the subject among benevolent men. True, the Society regards this part of our community as peculiarly unfortunate in their relation to the whites, and in their attempts at improvement; and hence it was that the idea of colonization was encouraged. The Society has done all in its power to promote a spirit of kindly regard towards this class, and to awaken a spirit of enterprise in their own bosoms: but they have devoted labor and treasure still more diligently to the prosecution of their experiment in Africa, — *an experiment on the moral, mental, and social capacity of the blacks.*

The Society have indeed not scrupled to describe the situation of that class in this country in its true light. This was necessary even to the purpose of awakening themselves,

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\* Vol. III. p. 290.

† Vol. II. p. 54.



as well as the rest of the community, to the work of improvement. The task has been an unpleasant one, truly, to more parties than one; but so much the more honor belongs to those who have labored in it, — without reward, — almost without hope, — and even in some instances exposed to the suspicions of the very subjects of their disinterested exertions. The Society, we verily believe, even thus far, have done more to stimulate and encourage the free-blacks of this country than all other agents together, for the half-century last past.

But they encourage slavery also, it is said. We shall spend few words on this point. The Society's sentiments respecting the character and the danger of the slave-system have been too frequently expressed to require repetition here; and it is equally well known how much they have done already, in not only inducing emancipation, but in rousing the attention of those mainly concerned, and even the action of entire slave-holding states upon the subject. It ill becomes those who are doing all in their power to thwart these exertions, by misrepresentation on one side, and by exasperation on the other, to accuse the Society of upholding and strengthening the slave-system, *because*, forsooth, they do not think it incumbent on them to promote wanton insurrection or insolence among the Southern blacks, with the view of increasing the uneasiness of the slaves, the jealousy of the owners, or the severity of the laws of slave-holding states relating to free blacks. We do not speak now of the constitution of the country, which, as protecting the slave-owners in what is called slave-property, our writer considers a mere bugbear! We speak of the subject as between men, Christians, citizens of the same nation. We speak of it as an enormous curse, founded in enormous crime; but still to be borne with, or mitigated, or removed, *as it best may be*. The Society have agitated this great subject with a fearless frankness: knowing, not only that "the evil extends itself to all the states," and that "a common evil confers a right to consider and apply a common remedy"; but feeling also, as free men and as lovers of freedom, that nothing can repress their sympathy in behalf of the unhappy portion of our race who are doomed to bondage, but the utter eradication of the light of reason and the love of liberty in the human soul. Still, "the Society goes into no household to disturb

its domestic tranquillity." "It addresses itself to no slaves to weaken their obligations to obedience." \* And this is the sum and substance of the declarations *in favor of slavery*, so triumphantly referred to by our opponent. †

As to the objection that the country cannot spare the labor of either the free blacks or the slaves proposed to be colonized, these questions, respectively, are, at the best, questions of minor importance. The interest of the country is indeed a consideration, — and we are not sorry to see this

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\* Mr. Clay's Speech at the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society, 1827. Repository, Vol. 11.

† On the subject of some statement in the article under consideration, we assume the responsibility of furnishing the following extract from a letter written by the Editor of "The Repository."

"In regard to the article in 'The Repository,' from which the writer in 'The Examiner' has quoted, I remark, that no candid man, I presume, who peruses the *whole* of it, can doubt that the author considers domestic slavery *an immense evil which the moral influence of the Colonization Society was especially adapted to remove*. Does not the author say in the very paragraph from which the writer in 'The Examiner' quoted, that 'for the termination of this system [slavery], we think the whole wisdom and energy of the states should be put in requisition'? But how is this system to be removed? By changing the *will* of the people of the South. And the moral influence of the Colonization Society, is certainly operating more effectually than all other means to produce a willingness in the South to emancipate slaves. The most, then, that the writer in 'The Examiner' can gain, from any sentiment or sentence in the article to which he refers, is the admission that the scheme of colonization *might* be made the means of strengthening and perpetuating slavery. *But the important question is, WILL it be?* No advocate of perpetual slavery at the South entertains a doubt in regard to this question. He perceives too clearly that the plan of colonization *is operating with a powerful and most persuasive influence in favor of emancipation*.

"Now I perceive no inconsistency or impropriety in admitting that, should the whole Southern-community resolve unchangeably to perpetuate slavery, it might strengthen the system, by removing the free people of color, and at the same time maintaining that the scheme of colonization is admirably adopted to *produce a disposition in the Southern mind, favorable to the abolition of slavery*. Nor can there be any moral wrong in my uniting with a man for a specified purpose, whose ultimate end is bad, provided I am convinced the specific purpose is good, and that by uniting with him, I take the best, the surest method of defeating his ultimate end. Our common object is good, and though we engage in promoting it from opposite motives, the one good, the other bad, *our union in the work may have the most beneficial effect*. Finally, I would say, I can see nothing in the article referred to, which does not admit of complete vindication."

fact admitted by an Abolitionist, — but the interest of the individuals is a greater one. For them the plan of colonization was devised. For them it is still carried on. And although it belongs to the public at large to decide whether or not *they* will assist in the execution of the plan, as one subservient to public benefit, — or whether they will support it, at a sacrifice, for the sake of the welfare of the blacks, — it unquestionably belongs also to the latter alone to discuss this matter for themselves, so far as to receive or reject, individually, as they think best, the offer which the Society tenders them.

Our own opinion is, — and the Society's view of the subject is not very different, — that nearly the same circumstances which make it the interest of the blacks to remove, make it the interest of the country to have them removed. These circumstances we need not here allude to in detail. It is sufficient to say, again, Let the blacks decide the matter for themselves. If they can be comfortable here, or think they can, let them remain, and God help them to be so. If they choose rather to go back to Africa, for the sake of the great advantages the Society offers them as Liberian freeholders and citizens, here is the opportunity of going, and here are the necessary funds. This is the "expulsion" and the "man-stealing" practised by the Society. And this is the "vilification" they countenance "on all occasions."

The writer thinks it remarkable, that, after describing the general character of our free, colored population as the Society have, they should speak so highly as they do of the Liberian emigrants, and expect so much from their settlement in Africa. In other words, he wonders at the Society's having the hardihood to say, that some degree of success has attended the grand moral experiment for which, chiefly, they were instituted and have labored. Still, he does not deny the fact. On the contrary, he admits that the colonists, at least, "live by their labor and worship the true God": that commerce and agriculture flourish; that they live in comfortable dwellings, &c. Now, taking this, and only this, for the truth respecting them, — and also taking for granted the writer's other assertion, that the colonists were once the worst part of our black population, — does the Society need any more conclusive eulogy upon its labors? We believe

not. And may they not expect still greater success with better subjects? Most clearly, they may.

The charge against them of encouraging the domestic slave-trade, in our opinion deserves but a single remark. According to this writer's account, they have in sixteen years carried out only six hundred slaves, or about thirty-seven annually, from all the nineteen slave-holding states of the Union. And how were these procured? Universally, it is perfectly well known, from owners who would not sell, and who will not buy. The exportation of this class, were it ever so large, would have no effect on the market.

As to the Society's having addressed contrary and inconsistent arguments, respectively, to the North and South, this accusation has been sufficiently settled in our remarks upon their views of the slave-system. The *primâ facie* absurdity of the idea of holding up these contrary views, all together, in the self-same single organs of the Society's principles, their Reports, and "The Repository," is a matter which seems hardly to have occurred to our writer in the truly ridiculous light which plainly belongs to it.

The history of Sierra Leone, he thinks, ought to discourage the American Society; but we trust he will permit them to think otherwise, if they choose, especially after his own acknowledgment of their triumphant success in the short period of a third part of the duration of the English settlement. Should, however, a needless exposition of minutiae be entered into, the result would be chiefly to prove, we suppose, generally, that the American Association has profited by the experience of the British, to adopt all their established good principles, and reject their bad ones,—and particularly, that newly emancipated slaves, like the twelve hundred Nova-Scotia refugees (who caused most of the trouble at Sierra Leone), can only be made competent citizens or business men, by the aid of a supervisory system of long continued energy, kindness, and patience, like the one so successfully practised in the Liberian settlements.

A word in conclusion. Our remarks have been mostly defensive, and for that reason somewhat desultory. Let us briefly recapitulate.

The Colonization Society was instituted for the purpose of planting, on the African coast, colonies of American free blacks and freed slaves.

Their proximate and principal motive in the prosecution of this distinct object, was the welfare of the subjects of their charity themselves. They expected, at all events, materially to improve both the condition and character of whatever number should become colonists: and they had sanguine hopes of not only finding this number, sooner or later, so considerable as to mark in itself a great achievement of benevolence; but also of rousing to general effort in their own behalf,—by the agitation of this and every other scheme of improvement, and especially by the result of their experiment on the African shores,—the colored population of the country at large. It formed no objection to colonization, that, while it would benefit the blacks, it would also benefit the whites from among whom they were taken.

But they had also ultimate inducements, in their nature more contingent, but whose conclusiveness could well be left to the trial of time, without at all effecting the practicability of their plan itself, or the importance of the primary arguments in its favor. They believed that the colonial system would exercise, in a degree proportionate to its extension, a highly beneficial influence on the native Africans, and towards the suppression of the slave-traffic; and that it would effect slavery in this country in the same way. But above all, whatever good they should *do*, of any description, they hoped to *induce* far more. They hoped to “illustrate the feasibility of the scheme,”\* by collecting information, and rousing attention; by purchasing territory; by testing the willingness of the blacks to emigrate; by engaging various interests and classes in support of the cause; and, in fine, by establishing, as a model, a prosperous colony on the African coast. These things are accomplished. Let the Society now maintain what they have done, and let them do as much more as they are able. It remains for higher agents to avail themselves of the system, and to amplify it, as they think best.

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\* Blackford's Address.

ART. IV. — *A General View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, chiefly during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* By the Rt. Hon. SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH, LL. D., F. R. S., M. P. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea. 1832.

*By George Ripley*

THE present work, which was originally published as a Preliminary Dissertation to one of the volumes of "The Edinburgh Encyclopædia," one or two years before the decease of Sir James Mackintosh, forms an appropriate and beautiful monument to his memory. It is, probably, the most perfect specimen of the intellectual treasures which were stored in his highly endowed mind, that will be given to the possession of his survivors. His life was too much distracted by the discharge of numerous and important public trusts, to allow him a steadfast devotion to those literary and philosophical pursuits, for which he always manifested a peculiar predilection. It is a striking proof of his aptitude for profound study and thought, on the most abstract subjects, that, sustaining, as he did, an eminent rank among the distinguished politicians of the day, ready with the efforts of his pen and his tongue on the great national questions, which, during a large part of his life, were of paramount interest, and entering, with keen relish, into the pleasures of the extensive society, in which his remarkable colloquial powers and admirable disposition made him a general favorite, he should notwithstanding have given the most complete and satisfactory view of the progress of ethical science, which the modern literature of England can boast. His reputation, as a writer on this subject, had before depended on casual efforts, which, though made amid the hurry and interruption of business, always display the hand of a master. His contributions to "The Edinburgh Review," on Madame de Staël's "Germany," and Dugald Stewart's "Dissertations," are, certainly, among the finest specimens of philosophical criticism contained in our language. The present work is distinguished by a similar affluence of rare learning, acute and delicate discrimination of thought, great force of argument, and singular candor and urbanity in the discussion of systems, which are at war with the opinions of the author himself, and which it is his purpose pointedly to condemn.

We cannot say so much of the style of Sir James

Mackintosh, as the expression of philosophical reasoning. It is elaborate to excess; but too visibly elaborate to be perfectly agreeable; and in many instances, his love of condensation betrays him into obscurity. In those passages which contain a long train of reasoning, the transition from one step to another, is usually far from being evident; and the enunciation of the propositions upon which he depends, as well as of the conclusions at which he arrives, is presented in such abstract terms, that we are often uncertain, whether we have rightly apprehended his meaning. We miss the variety and playfulness of illustration, which make the style of Hume so attractive, and which will always give him the rank of a most entertaining as well as acute writer on subjects of abstract speculation. Neither do we find any resemblance to the full and graceful flow of transparent diction, by which Dugald Stewart is quite as favorably distinguished as by the variety of his learning and the soundness of his understanding. With these abatements, which we could not in conscience omit, we regard Sir James Mackintosh as entitled to a high rank among the philosophical writers of the present and the last age, who have given an imperishable charm to the fruits of deep speculation, and erected a splendid monument to their names, in the history of English literature.

It is not our intention to enter into any detail respecting the contents of this work. It will undoubtedly be read by all who have any taste for the inquiries which it pursues; and as a guide through the labyrinth, which has been constructed from the various theories of morals, proposed by different authors, we do not know where they will find a more valuable companion. The attention of Sir James Mackintosh has evidently been directed, with strong interest, to the celebrated question respecting the relation of Utility to Virtue. Some of his most important suggestions are in elucidation of this topic, but, after all that he has said, we do not perceive that he has exhausted the subject, or, indeed, that he has presented it in the most satisfactory lights of which it is susceptible. He must be entitled to the credit of noticing certain distinctions, the neglect of which has introduced great confusion into the discussion of this question; but whether they satisfactorily explain the difficulties which have attended it, we must confess that we are entirely

in doubt. Thus, he clearly perceives and states the distinction between the Theory of Moral Sentiments and the Criterion of Moral Actions. He maintains that we may have a perception of moral qualities, independent of the Utility of the actions to which they belong; this is one thing; but the actions which give us such perceptions, agree in conducing to the welfare of mankind, or in their utility; this is another thing; and the two facts are neither to be confounded, nor placed in opposition to each other. The first relates to the nature of the feelings, with which right and wrong are contemplated by human beings; and the second to the nature of the distinction between right and wrong in human conduct. So that he admits, that we may have the emotion of moral approbation, without reference to the perception of utility; while we are taught by experience that all actions which excite this emotion, have the common element of utility. By this admission, he escapes the odious and absurd consequences which are charged upon those moralists who make the essence of utility and of virtue one and the same thing; but he does not make out, to our conviction, the grounds upon which that identity can be avoided. Again, Sir James very justly argues, that the perception of utility is unfit to be an immediate incentive and guide to right action, and is adapted only to be the general test of virtuous dispositions and sentiments; that it is a legitimate criterion of these last, he confidently maintains; but, as we think, he fails in pointing out why it is a suitable standard for the one and not for the other.

After all the ingenuity which he has exercised upon the subject, we cannot see that he has extricated it from the difficulty in which he found it, and the reason is, that he was misled by an imperfect conception of the true relation between virtue and utility. Indeed, we do not know any writer who appears to have viewed this point in all its bearings, and thence arrived at satisfactory conclusions. It is with great diffidence, then, that we approach it; and begging the patience of our readers, we proceed to offer such remarks as have been suggested by our own reflections.

The first point which it is necessary to consider in this discussion, is the nature of the feelings, with which we regard the distinctions of Right and Wrong in human conduct. It is a question of pure psychology, and is to be determined by an



appeal to our own consciousness, as much as the nature of any mental pleasure or pain whatever. Is, then, the mental feeling consequent upon the perception of Right and Wrong, the same as that which arises upon the perception of utility, or the want of it? Is our perception of the Useful and the Right, one and the same thing? If so, then the essence of virtue and utility are identical. We have only to ask whether an action is Useful, and the true answer to the question will determine whether or not it is Right. But on the other hand, is not the perception of the Right essentially distinct from that of the Useful, as distinct as the perception of beauty in the starry heavens is from that of the sphericity of the orbs, which compose them? We maintain that it is. We are conscious, that when we contemplate a virtuous action, we experience a different emotion from that which arises upon the sight of a useful one. The two emotions may be, — indeed they usually are, — excited by the same object, since a virtuous action is almost always useful, but they can be resolved into different feelings with as much certainty, as the red and violet rays are divided in the prismatic spectrum. We might safely leave this point, if it had not been so much disputed, with the consciousness of each of our readers, assured that he would no more confound the two emotions produced respectively by the Useful and the Right, than he would the heat of a fire with the sensation of burning, or the form and color of a rose, with the perception of its fragrance. But we beg leave to look a little further at it together. Do not the Useful and the Right differ in the kind of impression, which they produce upon the mind, inasmuch as the one is addressed principally to the understanding, and the other always terminates upon the feelings? The perception of utility in an action or object is related to the intellect. The powers of discrimination are exercised to ascertain its existence. We compare, reflect, and judge, whether the act is useful or not, and the result is the conviction of the understanding. And there, generally, so far as utility is concerned, the mental operation terminates. In some cases, it is true, the perception of utility is succeeded by the sentiment of admiration, — for instance, when we view a useful work of art of extraordinary ingenuity, — but here, it is the skill of the artificer, which we admire, not the usefulness of the

machine. In some cases, also, the perception of utility is followed by the sentiment of moral approbation, — for instance, when we contemplate the labors of a Howard or an Oberlin, — but here it is the character of the men that we approve, not the utility of their actions, as is evident from the fact, that if we knew the actions to have been prompted by motives of envy, malignity, or revenge, our approbation would be withdrawn. But regarding the perception of utility by itself, it is clear, that we determine whether or not an action is useful, by an exercise of judgment, just as much as we determine the properties of a triangle or circle by the same power. The perception itself is not an emotion, and does not necessarily involve one. The perception of Right, on the contrary, always involves the sentiment of moral approbation, so much so, indeed, that the perception and the sentiment have been confounded by many eminent philosophers. The quality which excites it, though in our opinion perceived by the understanding, touches the feelings, creates a vivid sentiment, which possesses a character of its own, unlike any other, and is evidently altogether and absolutely distinct from the calm conclusions of the intellect, which determine whether or not an action is Useful.

This is one psychological distinction between the perception of the Right and the Useful. But this is not all. Are there not many objects, which give the perception of utility, but excite no emotion of moral approbation? If there are such, of course, the essence of the Useful and of the Right are not the same thing, since we know nothing of essences, but from their effects. The effects being different, the qualities cannot be the same. But it is very certain, that we pronounce many objects useful, which we never call virtuous. We often perceive the utility of actions, to which it would be absurd to ascribe virtue. No inanimate object, however useful, excites the emotion of moral approbation. The very supposition of its being virtuous is ludicrous. But why should it be? If utility and virtue, as perceived by the mind, are identical, it follows, with the clearness of demonstration, that wherever we perceive the one, we must attribute the other. But, who ever thought of asking a question concerning the virtue of the most valuable machine? But why not? If the power of doing good, if the actual amount of benefit produced, excite in our minds the same emotion

with a virtuous deed, why not ask the same questions concerning a machine as concerning a man? Indeed, in point of utility, the machine, in many instances, has incomparably the advantage over the best man. A spinning-mill, which saves the labor of many hands, and puts bread into many mouths, has been of more real use to mankind, than the decision of Aristides, in refusing to burn the enemy's fleet. But is there the same emotion, in thinking of the two cases? If there be no distinction between the Useful and the Right, why do we praise the patriot martyr, more than we do the sword and the cannon, with which he defended his country's rights? Why do we extol the philanthropist, who went down into the depths of dungeons to relieve the misery of the prisoner, more than we do the vessel that bore him over the waters, in his "grand circumnavigation of charity?" If the perception of virtue be nothing more than the perception of utility, why do we not fall in with that beautiful form of Eastern superstition, and give the Sun the adoration which we confine to its Intelligent Maker? Certainly, no created intelligence can boast of utility like that of the Sun, but we regard the humblest sacrifice to duty, though in the meanest tenant of the straw-thatched cottage, with an emotion, which that glorious luminary, "walking in the greatness of his strength, and rejoicing as a strong man to run a race," can never excite.

The perception of utility is given to us every day by the actions of the inferior animals. But does any one ever inquire into the merit of those actions? Did any rational mind ever regard them with the emotion of moral approbation? If we behold a flock of sheep grazing in a meadow, it is not improbable that we may engage in a calculation respecting the benefit to the country, we may think of the various uses to which their fleece, their flesh, or their skin may be applied, and perhaps come to the conclusion that they are of far more utility than their benevolent owner, who inhabits the neighboring dwelling; but we suppose no one ever thought of making a comparison between the virtue of the animals and that of the man. It would, however, be a just comparison, if the perception of utility and of virtue were the same. Even in those cases, in which by the force of our habitual associations, we experience an emotion similar to that of moral approbation, when contemplating the actions

of certain animals, the emotion is, by no means, in proportion to the utility of the actions by which it is excited. We behold the slow and sluggish ox transporting the yellow treasures of a fruitful harvest to the store-house of the husbandman, and if a thought is suggested, it is that of the utility of the animal to the interests of his owner. No emotion whatever is produced. We behold, on the other hand, a faithful dog refusing his daily sustenance, that he may watch at his master's grave, and although we see no manner of use in the action, we cannot help feeling a strong emotion, sufficiently resembling that of moral approbation, to show us that it does not always correspond to the perception of utility.

But it may be said by those who hold that the Useful and the Right are identical, that our moral sentiments are never called forth, except by the actions of rational and voluntary agents. By this very admission, then, it is conceded, that the perception of the Useful and the Right are not always the same, that an element is necessary to the existence of virtue, in addition to utility. This is the precise point for which we contend. And we may then conclude, that this admission puts an end to the question. But no, it is said, we must believe until further proof, that when we contemplate the actions of rational and voluntary agents, it is the perception of utility that causes the emotion of moral approbation, that the two things are indeed one and the same. Is it then a fact, that our feelings are similar when we witness an instance of utility, and a display of virtue, in a rational agent? Do we not perceive many actions, of which we say they are useful, but of which we can never say, they are virtuous? Do we not, for instance, look into the intention of the agent, before we pronounce upon the moral character of his actions? But their utility is the same whatever be his intentions. The author of a valuable work on astronomy or political economy, may be of far greater service to his country and to the world, than the most patient sufferer, who is supported, by strong Christian principle, under the pangs of sickness or the wretchedness of poverty. But no one hesitates to say, that however useful the former, he is not necessarily a good man, he is not necessarily regarded with moral approbation; while no one can behold the latter, without bearing testimony to his

virtue, and experiencing a deep emotion of approbation. One of the most useful men that ever lived, was the inventor of logarithms. That invention, in its remote consequences, has probably saved more lives than the efforts of all the philanthropists, who have sacrificed themselves to a sense of duty. But do we give the reward of moral approbation to the inventor for that act? Never. Why should we not, if the Useful and the Virtuous are the same? Do we think of Sir Isaac Newton, as the discoverer of the law of gravitation and the method of fluxions, when we extol his virtue? Is his utility as a philosopher in our minds, when we praise his excellence as a Christian? But why not? If the perception of utility and the emotion of moral approbation are identical, how can we separate them, as we always do, in the instances that have been named?

But to dwell no longer on this part of the argument, let us proceed to another point. Are there not certain actions which excite the emotion of moral approbation, before we have gained any perception of their utility? Do we not often witness conduct which we pronounce at once to be right, and behold with profound admiration, before we can calculate its consequences? We do not deny that the utility of such actions can be made apparent, after sufficient examination, but we maintain, that we approve of them the moment we understand the circumstances of the case, whether we think of their utility or not. When the youthful Lafayette replied to the American commissioners, who told him that they were too poor to furnish a vessel for his passage to this country, "then I will purchase and fit out one for myself," we are immediately affected by the magnanimity, perseverance, and disinterestedness of the intrepid friend of liberty, and speak of the action with enthusiastic praise, long before we perceive the train of beneficial consequences which it has since put in motion. And suppose the vessel which bore the devoted hero to the great struggle for human rights, had perished at sea, and the generous intentions of its owner been frustrated, should we any the less pronounce his action a right and noble one? When we hear the story of the Roman daughter, do we stop to inquire what was the use of her filial piety, before we yield her a willing tribute of admiration? When a certain patriot of our revolution, on being offered a munificent reward if he

would abandon his country's cause, replied to the agents of royal power, "Go tell your master that I am poor, but such as I am, the King of England is not rich enough to buy me," do we not say at once, without calculating the utility of his stern refusal of their gold, that it was Right? And is there a man living, wise or foolish, civilized or savage, capable of understanding the action, whose heart would not respond to our opinion? We forbear to multiply examples, though every page of history is filled with them.

We have thus far proved that there is a state of mind, which we call moral approbation, distinct from that which we call the perception of utility. There are actions to which we apply the epithet Right, belonging to a different order from those to which we apply the epithet Useful. The conception of the Right and the conception of the Useful, then, considered as actual ideas of the human intellect, are by no means one and the same. It is essential to the idea of a right action, one to which we yield our moral approbation, that it be performed by an intelligent Being, and that it be voluntary. A useful action does not require either of these conditions. If it be now asked what we mean by a right action, it may be as difficult to give a general answer, as to the question, what we mean by a true proposition. That there is any single element which can be applied as the criterion of Right, any more than there is a single criterion of truth, we acknowledge that we have never been convinced. We cannot say of any proposition, that it is useful, that it is agreeable to the will of God, or the like, and therefore it is true; its truth is presupposed, in the assertion of its utility; and its truth must be ascertained, before we can know it is agreeable to the will of God. The same reasoning holds, it appears to us, respecting the Right. We cannot say of any action, that it is useful, that it is agreeable to the will of God, or the like, and therefore, it is Right; its being Right is presupposed in the fact of its utility, and we must ascertain that that is Right, before we can know that it is agreeable to the will of God. We may say that truth is conformity to our intellectual nature; and in like manner, that virtue is conformity to our moral nature; but this is very different from stating a single element, as a criterion, by which either the one or the other may be tested. We may go still further, and describe the Idea of truth and

of virtue. Truth is in relation to Belief; Virtue to Practice. A true proposition is one which must be believed; a right action, one which must be done. This is the simple Idea of Right. Turn it which way we will, we cannot get rid of it. We may think we have resolved it into something else, that it consists in a regard to our own greatest happiness, in the pursuit of the general good, in obedience to the divine will, in propriety, and so on, but all these expressions only describe particular right actions; they shed no light on the general and absolute Idea of Right, which we can carry no further than this, namely, — that, which *must* be done, which *ought* to be done, which we are *obliged* to do, which it is *wrong* to omit; all which are clearly equivalent expressions for the same thing, differing only in form, as statements of one fundamental Idea. That such an Idea exists in the human mind, we will not stop to prove at greater length, only premising that if any one is disposed to question it, we would ask him if he has not the Idea of Cause and Effect, of Identity, of Duration, of Space, and of Substance, and if so, whether the Idea of Right, as we have stated it, is not as distinct and real as either of the former. If he denies this, we have no common ground to stand upon, and cannot make our voices heard across the chasm which separates us.

Admitting, then, the fundamental Idea of Right, in the mature mind, as distinct from every other, the question is still pending, What is the common quality in those actions, by which the idea is suggested? What is the criterion by which we may determine whether or not an action or mental disposition is Right? It is to be determined by utility, say the advocates of the theory, which we oppose. As soon as it is proved to be useful, it is proved to be Right. Let us consider, in the first place, if this criterion will hold in its application to individual actions, for if it will not, its importance as a test is at once diminished, since it is individual actions, of which we have the most frequent occasion to determine the character. Now it is plain, that there are many actions of a moral nature, which we immediately pronounce to be wrong, of which no one hesitates to say that they are wrong, yet the actual effects of which have been beneficial to mankind. If utility were the criterion, such actions would be Right. If the case can be fairly made out that they have done good to the world, and utility be assum-

ed as the only test of their character, of course, we must admit that they ought to have been done, — however repugnant to our natural feelings, — since we have pronounced them useful, we must also pronounce them right. But let us make the attempt. We shall find it impossible. We might as well hope to move the Sun at our bidding, as to make a wrong action, useful though it be, appear to our moral faculty as right. Take as an example, the death of Socrates. The crime against philosophy, which the Athenians committed in his martyrdom, has never been forgiven, from that day to the present. The universal sense of mankind is against it. It is unequivocally and unanimously condemned as wrong. But no one can doubt that the ultimate effects of that atrocious and unjust deed have been eminently useful. It was a matter of small importance for Socrates to leave the world, though by a violent death. He was ripe in years and in virtue. He had exhausted the usual sources of enjoyment which life affords. He could, at best, have been spared but a little while. He was taken from the world, in the full possession of all his faculties, neither his mind nor body impaired by the touch of a loathsome disease, calmly conversing with the troops of friends, who were faithful to the last, and, finally, yielding to the gentle operation of the poison, resigned his breath without a struggle. If we were asked what injury were done to Socrates, we should not know where to look for a reply. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive a more enviable situation than that of the martyred philosopher, when, after blessing his executioner, he tasted the fatal cup and surrendered himself to the pleasing visions of Immortality, which hovered around his last moments. But does all this prove that his condemnation was just? Does it not rather lead us to regard the crime of his accusers, with deeper indignation? Are we in the slightest degree reconciled to them, by the assurance of the good effects which their crime has produced? Of these good effects, there can be doubt. The manner of his death, far more than the spirit of his philosophy, or the beauty of his character, has embalmed the memory of Socrates, in the hearts of every succeeding generation. The remembrance of his name has given a charm to his principles, and the efficacy of his example added strength to virtue. If, then, we judge of the sentence



which doomed him to drink hemlock, by the test of utility, how can we avoid pronouncing it virtuous? Why do we not praise the Athenian populace for the incalculable good which they have been the agents in effecting? We hold up the action of Brutus, "who slew his best lover for the good of Rome," as commendable and noble. Yet the death of Julius Cæsar has been of far less use to his country and to the world, than the death of Socrates. If utility is the criterion of Right and Wrong, how do we account for the different feelings with which we contemplate the instances that have been mentioned? We might multiply examples of this kind to an unlimited extent. The blood of the martyrs has in every age been the seed of the church; and if the character of actions is determined by their utility, we must approve of those which have erected the scaffold and kindled the fires; since these have been the means of the promotion of truth and the progress of righteousness.

It may be maintained with regard to such actions, that the good which they have accomplished is incidental, while the intention which prompted them is wrong, and that it is the intention and not the consequence of the action, to which the criterion of utility is to be applied. But this admission concedes the very point in question. It allows that the beneficial effects of an action, are not all at which we are to look, in determining its moral character. So that it virtually renounces the theory of utility as the criterion of Right. Besides, the most distinguished advocates of this theory, Dr. Paley and his followers, for instance, expressly limit its application to actions. It has no concern, according to them, with the intentions of the agent. But we have seen that it does not hold good as a test of actions; if we retain the criterion, then, we must in opposition to Paley himself, make use of it as the test of intentions. If we apply the test of utility at all, as the ultimate ground of our decisions, we must so apply it, as to show that the intended production of good is always Right, as well as that the intended production of evil is always wrong. This last proposition, of course, we would not be supposed to deny; but we believe it on other grounds than those taken by the advocates of utility. But to consider the first proposition alluded to above, is the intentional production of good always Right? Is every action, which I mean to be a useful one, therefore

Right? We deny that it is. To take a very familiar instance, the persecution of the primitive Christians by Paul, before his conversion. There is no doubt, he thought, that he was doing God service, by this action; and there is as little doubt that the ultimate effects of the persecutions endured by the infant church, were beneficial to its growth and to its virtues. But Paul never dreamed of justifying his conduct on the score of its utility, or of his sincere conviction of its utility. On the contrary, he regarded himself as one of the chief of sinners, on account of his crimes in persecuting the disciples. But taking utility as the test, we do not perceive that the Apostle was not fully justified.

Another instance to illustrate our views, may be found in the case of the assassin, as stated by Dr. Paley, for a different purpose. Suppose that an old man of worthless character is in possession of a large fortune, which I can attain by putting him to death, and employ for my own benefit and that of mankind. Why should not I knock the rich villain in the head, and do good with the money, of which he makes no use? The action, by the very terms of the statement, will be a beneficial one. My intentions in committing it, are with a single view to the benefit it will produce. If utility is the criterion, the old miser must die. There is no other way. But, says Dr. Paley, the action is unlawful, because a general rule to sanction such actions would be injurious. Be it so. But in this instance, what have I to do with general rules, if utility be my only guide? I know that the action will be useful, and that is all I want to know. What consequence is it to me, that a general rule, taken by others from my conduct, might in some future, uncertain cases, be injurious? I know not that such cases will ever occur, and if they do, they are nothing to me, let them be determined by those who are called to act upon them. Utility is my only guide, and utility I will follow. Utility tells me to take this man's life for his money, and utility I will obey. We do not see that such reasoning can be set aside, allowing that the operation of the general rule in question would be injurious. But, still further, we cannot see how a general rule, formed from a particular beneficial action can be injurious. The general rule would comprehend only such actions as are precisely similar to the one upon which it is founded. If it be useful in a given

case to take the life of an old man because I can make a better use of his money than he does himself, it would also be useful to take the lives of ten, twenty, thirty, or as many as were in similar circumstances. If the utility of one action makes it Right, it is impossible that the utility of ten, twenty, or thirty actions precisely similar, should not also make them Right. If the particular case be beneficial, the general rule must be beneficial also. But, the truth is, in cases of this kind we must have recourse to some criterion, less flexible, less vague, less uncertain than that of utility.

We have now seen that there are useful actions, which have no moral character whatever, — actions, intended to be useful, which are wrong — and actions, intended to be wrong, committed with a criminal motive, which are useful. Hence it follows, that utility cannot be the legitimate criterion of Right and Wrong. That the dispositions and sentiments which are universally regarded as virtuous, are generally useful to their possessors and to mankind, we have not a shadow of doubt. We are certain that this element is common to all the motives and feelings which the collected sense of the human race has pronounced to be right ; that it would be incalculably for the benefit of the world, if the actions which are agreed to be virtuous, were universally practised. But this is a very different thing — and it is utterly surprising that the difference has been so generally overlooked — from making the actual utility of actions, a criterion of their moral character. It is certainly one thing to say, that the practice of Right actions would be generally useful ; and another, and quite a different thing to say, that the fact of its utility determines an action to be Right. Yet this distinction has been usually kept out of sight, by writers of no mean influence on the philosophy of ethics. It seems scarcely to have been recognized, that we may ascertain an action to be Right, on grounds independent of its utility, and yet admit, to its fullest extent, the fact that utility is a quality common to actions of that character. The distinction between the virtue of an action and its tendency to promote the private happiness of the agent, though denied or disregarded by many respectable moral writers, is far more generally admitted than the one to which we have just alluded. Yet it is no less certain, that the virtue of an action, and its tendency to promote our own happiness,

usually coincide, than that the virtue of an action coincides with its tendency to promote the happiness of mankind, or its general utility. We do not make its tendency, in the one case, the test of its character; we determine it by a different order of considerations; it should be the same in the other; as the tendency to promote our own happiness is a quality of virtuous actions, without being their general criterion, so the tendency to promote the happiness of mankind is a quality of virtuous actions, without being their general criterion. Admitting, then, that utility, though usually connected with virtuous actions, is not the ultimate test to which they must be brought, the question is now to be answered, What is the positive relation of utility to virtue? We reply that is the test of those dispositions and actions only, which have immediate reference to our fellow men; and of these, we say that the Useful is Right only when it does not interfere with any prior obligation. We therefore take it for granted that there are grounds of obligation, different from, and superior to those of utility; and of these it is necessary for us to give an explanation.

This leads us to consider the true theory of moral obligation in general. It is evident, that there are many instances, in which the utility of an action convinces us that the action is right, and that we are under a moral obligation to perform it. Now is utility the sole and ultimate ground upon which the obligation rests, or can we discover, after further analysis, a more general element, which constitutes the ground of obligation? We think there is an element more general than utility, and which, in fact, gives to utility its binding power. It is conformity to our moral relations, as intuitively perceived, in the final analysis, by the moral faculty. From all the relations, which man is called to sustain, proceed a corresponding order of duties, the perception of which is as intuitive to the mature mind, as the perception of the first principles of philosophy, or the axioms of mathematics. These intuitive perceptions are the foundation of moral science, and the ultimate standard by which we settle all questions of practical duty. Thus, among the relations, sustained by man, the most important is that, by which he is connected with his Maker. From this relation, as soon as it is understood, are deduced several duties, the obligation of which we perceive no less intuitively than we

do the mathematical truths, deduced from the relations of quantity and magnitude. Let us place, on one side, the idea of a Creator, omnipotent, independent, perfectly wise, benevolent, and just ; and, on the other, the idea of creatures, weak, dependent, receiving every thing which they possess from the goodness of God, and capable of understanding, in some degree, the perfections of his character ; — we perceive an existing relation, and from this relation, we deduce the duty of the creature to exercise Love, Veneration, Gratitude, and Obedience towards the Creator. If we bring the subject fully and fairly before our minds, we cannot help seeing that such is our duty. We perceive a conformity between it, and the relation we have considered. We recognize a moral obligation to discharge it. We perceive that it is fit, right, and our bounden duty, to love, venerate, worship, and obey the Almighty. We cannot resolve this obligation into any considerations of the utility which may accrue to ourselves or to others, from its faithful fulfilment. We cannot reduce it into any more simple elements. It would be as absurd to ask the reason of this obligation, as to ask the reason why two and two are equal to four. We may ask indeed a reason for our fulfilling this obligation, but that is another, and quite a different question. Since we must make out our obligation, before we can seek reasons for fulfilling it ; the contrary would be like trying to build a house in the air.

In like manner, from the relation, which man sustains to himself, considered as a sensitive and intelligent being, capable of happiness and improvement, with the power of election, volition, and action, we deduce several duties, which may perhaps be summed up in the two general principles, that he is under obligation to seek his own greatest perfection, and his own highest happiness ; — provided always, that in so doing, he does not interfere with any obligation, which the moral faculty designates as possessing prior claims. Like the duties, growing out of the former relation, these are objects of intuitive perception. As soon as we understand the relation, we understand the duties, just as when we understand the definition of a circle, we understand its primary properties. In either case, when we come to propositions that are intuitively perceived, we have arrived at the end of our line ; there is nothing more to be said, and he who

does not recognize these fundamental perceptions, cannot of course be convinced by argument ; since he denies the very ground on which any argument can be built. Should it be said, that many do not acknowledge the primary perceptions of morality, we reply that many do not understand the relations, from which they proceed ; but that any who have attended to the relations, and understand them should not admit the perceptions, we confess seems as inconceivable, as that any should maintain, that, though four times five are twenty, five times four are not twenty, but five hundred. Of course, the consciousness of every individual must determine the question for himself, and to that we cheerfully submit it.

We come now to the considerations, which, in our opinion, clearly settle the relation of utility to virtue. The duties, which we have already noticed, though undoubtedly productive of incalculable benefit to mankind, derive their obligation, not from their utility, but from their conformity to the relations of things, as intuitively perceived by the moral faculty. But the relations, which we sustain to our fellow men are more comprehensive, more obvious, more universal in their application, than any others which we sustain. We are born into the world to be at once dependent on others. We are placed from the first in society. We are hemmed in, and pressed around, by all those responsible and delightful relations, which give life its brightest charms, and make the discharge of our duty no less beautiful than it is binding. They are the element in which we live and move, and have our being. They surround us in their comprehensive grasp as closely as the all-embracing atmosphere. From these relations, a new order of duties is derived. A conformity to these relations, as dictated by the moral faculty, includes a wide circle of dispositions and actions. But they may all be summed up in this general rule, abstain from injury and do good. Here, then, the element of utility comes in. We infer, from our relations with our fellow men, that it is our duty to be as useful to them as we can, — but with the limitation before laid down, that we never sacrifice to utility any higher obligation. Utility is itself an obligation, whenever it is in conformity to all the relations which we sustain to God, to ourselves, and to our fellow men : and this conformity is pointed out by our moral faculty in the same manner as

conformity to truth is pointed out, by our intellectual faculties ; but, whenever utility comes in competition with any prior obligation, when it calls upon us to violate any duty superior to itself, its own obligation ceases, and our conduct is to be determined by a reference to the unchanging principles, in which the intuitive perceptions of the moral faculty are embodied. Thus, to resort to our former example, though it might be useful to deprive the wealthy miser of the treasures, which were rusting in his coffers, it would violate the rule, which the moral faculty approves, that to destroy life for wealth is forbidden by the relations, which men in a social state sustain to each other. On similar principles, we establish the obligations, by which parents are bound to their children, and children to their parents, and, in general, the members of the same family to each other. There may be cases, in which a child could promote the welfare of the community by an injury inflicted upon his parent, but it would be in contradiction to our clearest intuitive perceptions, of the duties arising from that relation, and we therefore pronounce the action wrong.

Such are the views of moral obligation which appear to us sound and unanswerable. We have a perception of certain duties growing out of our various relations, among which is the duty of utility to our fellow men ; but this, so far from being our only duty, or the criterion of other duties, is itself subject to the decisions of a higher tribunal. The whole sum of duties, which result from conformity to all the variety of relations, which we sustain, are expressed in certain general rules, and these are the first principles, the fundamental elements of morality.

If we have settled in our own minds the authority of any general principles, which we are to adopt as the foundation of practical morality, we should carefully distinguish between the obligation of those principles, and the motives, by which we may be urged to their observance. We would submit to the reflection of our readers, whether the neglect of this distinction has not introduced great uncertainty and confusion into the reasonings of many eminent writers, who have attempted to set forth a true theory of morals. In our apprehension, the distinction is of vital importance, and goes far to settle some of the most difficult questions, that have been subjects of vehement controversy among the students of moral phi-

losophy. The principal difficulty on this point has arisen from an unphilosophical mode of asking questions. There have been two great errors, namely, asking an absurd question, that is, a question demanding an analysis of a simple element; and asking an irrelevant question, that is, putting a right question in the wrong place. Thus, after having decided that such or such an action is our duty, and stated the ultimate ground upon which it rests, the question is asked, why we are obliged to perform it, or why it is our duty, that is, why are we obliged to do what we are obliged to do, or why is our duty our duty, which is as absurd as to ask, why a triangle has three sides, and not four, or why a three-sided figure is not square. Again, a right question is put in a wrong place. Thus, having decided that such or such an action is our duty, we ask, why we should perform it, meaning what is the obligation which we are under to perform it, which is irrelevant, since in deciding that it was our duty, we decided the obligation: whereas, if we meant, what motive can be urged to induce us to do what we have already determined is our duty, or that which we are obliged to do, the question is legitimate, a right question in a right place, but requiring a very different answer from that given to the same question as put before; and it is the confounding of these questions which has perplexed many of the plainest facts and principles of moral science, and kept out of sight the fundamental and everlasting difference between the Idea of Duty and the Idea of Interest.

A short statement of our mental operations, when deciding a practical moral question, we trust, will remove any difficulties that may occur to our readers, with respect to this topic. We wish to know if we shall or shall not perform a given action. We refer it to a general maxim of conduct, the truth of which is intuitively perceived by the mature reason, and this, we will suppose in the present case, determines the action to be right. We have, then, a perception of its rectitude, and this intellectual perception is always succeeded by an emotion more or less vivid, according to the strength and quickness of our moral feelings, of obligation to perform the action. We view the action, at this moment in the following manner. We approve it; it is morally right; it is fit to be done; we ought to do it; it is our duty to do it; we are obliged to do it; we are bound in con-



science to do it; we shall be unworthy if we omit it; we shall merit condemnation if we omit it; we shall despise ourselves, and deserve to be despised by others, if we omit it. All these are equivalent expressions, different modes of stating the primary fundamental idea of rectitude. It will be seen, then, that in the very idea of an action's being right is involved that of obligation to perform it. This, in fact, is the essential element of the idea itself. Do you ask, then, why you are obliged to perform an action, which you admit to be right; your question is a mere tautology; as much so, as if you asked, why you were obliged to believe a proposition which you admitted to be true, or why, if the whole be greater than a part, you must believe that a part is less than the whole.

If, then, the idea of obligation is involved in the idea of right, when we ask, respecting the action, which we have found to be right, why we should perform it, we do not mean, if we know what we are about, what is our obligation to perform it, but what personal consideration, acting on our wills, can urge us to perform it, what shall we gain by its performance; what interest will it promote; what feeling or sentiment will it gratify; in short, what motive have we for its performance. We come then to the distinction, which has been so generally forgotten, between motive and obligation. This may be expressed, in a brief manner, thus: When I ask, why I should perform an action, the word *why* is used in two different senses. First, when the answer involves any of the ideas, enumerated before as belonging to right, and stops at some self-evident element, in which I find duty. This is obligation. Second, when the answer involves any of the personal considerations enumerated before, and stops at some self-evident element in which I find interest. This is motive. The confounding of the two different senses of the same word *why*, has led to the common confusion between obligation and motive, duty and interest.

If we ask, in the former sense of the term, why we should do such or such an action, we analyze the action, till it can be referred to some general principle of which the obligation is intuitively perceived; if in the latter sense we seek for some motive which may induce us to fulfill our obligations. Thus, if we ask, why we should relieve the distress of a friend, we perceive at once, that it is a duty growing out of

the relation of friendship. This is the obligation. If we still ask, why we should perform the duty, we come to the consideration of motives; and to this question, a variety of answers may be given. It may be said, we should do it, because it is right, and this answer is legitimate, because the perception of right is followed by a sense of duty, and this is an active principle of our nature. Again, it may be said that we should do it, because it is demanded by gratitude, and here a motive is addressed to an active principle. Again, it may be said that we should do it, because our friend will do as much for us in return, and here a motive is addressed to self-love, another active principle. Or it may be said, that we should do it because it is agreeable to the will of God, and we shall be rewarded for it in a future state; here the motive is addressed to our religious sentiment, certainly one of the most active principles of human nature. But in all these cases, the ground of obligation, and that of motive, are palpably distinct, and the statement which may explain the one, will be far from explaining the others.

The application of these views to the relation between utility and virtue is obvious, and we shall not dwell upon it. It is plain, that if we are right in the principles which we have advanced, the utility of an action to others or to ourselves may be a strong motive for its performance, while it does not constitute its primary obligation. We must leave it with our readers to follow out the conclusions to which this distinction leads.

We ought, perhaps, to offer an apology for occupying so many of our pages with a subject relating to the abstract philosophy of ethics, which cannot be supposed to possess the same interest for others, which we take in it ourselves. We may be permitted, however, to say, that there is a far more intimate connexion between sound theoretical principles, and the advancement and prosperity of society, than is generally imagined. It has been abundantly verified by experience, that when the primitive and sublime sentiment of Duty, engraved by the finger of God on the heart of man, has been lost sight of, or merged in an inferior order of principles, a slow but fatal poison has preyed upon the vital interests of the community. We cannot but regret, that there is so strong a tendency

at the present day, among a great number of benevolent and philanthropic men, who, we are sure, have deeply at heart the welfare of their race, to forget the eternal distinctions of right and wrong, and to substitute in their place, as the criterion of actions, and the motives of conduct, merely empirical considerations, derived from an exaggerated sense of public utility, and connected, as they generally are, with exclusive appeals to private interest. We yield to none, in our earnest desire to see the measures of governments, and the institutions of public policy, brought to the test of utility, so far as that is conformable to the dictates of unchangeable justice; we cherish the deepest conviction, that the performance of duty is the best security for private happiness; but we can never believe, that the interests of states or of individuals are best provided for, when the primitive nature of man is obscured, and the immutable perceptions of his reason, and the noble sentiments of his heart, are commuted for uncertain and selfish calculations, which exercise only a small portion of his faculties, and those of the least exalted and venerable character.

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ART. V. — *Hymns, Songs, and Fables, for Children.* By the Author of "The Well-Spent Hour." Boston. Carter, Hendee, & Babcock. 1831. 18mo. pp. 50.

THERE was a time when poetry was created every day, and that was a time when the grown-up were children. Then there were ballads and songs that told stories, and painted pictures, and almost sung of themselves. But we have no ballads now. The youthful energy of English poetry seems to have died out. At least it has not emigrated with the language, and associated itself with those general habits and customs, those interesting objects of every-day life, which formerly it loved to consecrate, and which, in their turn, perpetuated its strains. Whence is this?

We do not intend to enter into any profound discussion of this question, but simply to give our own opinion in reply. It is not that the souls of poets are not amongst us, with

power to concentrate heart, imagination, and melody, into "thoughts that breathe, and words that burn"; but that no auditors present themselves who concentrate their souls to listen. It is because poets now sing to critics, instead of the earnest and believing.

But the divinely gifted should not despair. Into the bosom of the most artificial society there is constantly pouring a fresh supply of soul. New, unsophisticated beings, are rising into existence constantly; as yet not distracted from nature and its primary instincts, by the many objects which society presents, to dissipate their minds. And what audience can a poet want to sing to, better than this? an audience reverential and enthusiastic as those of David and Homer, loving, wondering, and trusting, without a question, or doubt, or criticism. Let the grown-up go and learn of logicians and politicians, the dissectors of material nature, and the inventors of machinery. The poet, who is wise to know his friends and lovers, will be content with the children, who will learn by heart the music-linked wisdom, which he has taken whole from nature's undivided self.

We hardly know whether it is more for the sake of the children or the poets that we would introduce them to each other. We would do it for the sake of the poets, because children are pure specimens of humanity, and not yet adulterated by the arbitrary customs of society; and can understand the pictured language and no other; and be interested in that which addresses itself to the first principles of their own nature, and nothing else. And we would do it for the sake of the children, because we would cherish their love, and wonder, and faith, by sympathy, until it is recognised by their own reason as that which is to keep them ever above those same arbitrary customs, at least so far as to regulate and govern them.

We have long looked forward for some one to arise, pure enough from worldly ambition, and sufficiently well taught in heavenly lore, to usher in this happy era of the history of education and of poetry. Mrs. Hemans has tried and failed. We will not even speak of the crowds of well disposed persons who have laboriously put prose into rhyme. When we saw Mr. Willis's "Tired of Play," we had good

hope of him. But he wandered away, and we fear has provoked Custom to lie upon him "heavy as frost."

Our hopes are kindled again, with the appearance of this little book. It is by the author of a story, which we have already noticed, and which is, though in prose, replete with the spirit of poetry. And now, in *bonâ fide* verse, she has done delightfully, and indicates ability to do yet more and better things. With a quick ear for melody, and for great varieties of time, she unites a sensibility perfectly alive to all the lovely aspects of nature, and a sympathy with children, from the welling-up of their innocent joyousness at the very sight of beauty, to the highest heaven of their moral and religious feeling; taking their hearts captive and bearing them along the stream of her verse, which reflects the hills, woods, and flowery banks, the stars and sunset clouds, and all sweet and glorious things of heaven and earth, in its bosom.

But we will let her speak for herself, in the "Little Boy's May-day Song," p. 2; in the "Dear Mother, guess what I have heard," p. 13; in "Hark! the little birds are singing," p. 16; in "How beautiful the setting sun," p. 17; and in "What was it in the viewless wind," p. 25. As to the hymns, we know nothing better than "It was my heavenly Father's love." And there is hardly less merit in many others, though no others are quite so childlike.

"It was my heavenly Father's love  
Brought every being forth :  
He made the shining worlds above,  
And every thing on earth.

"Each lovely flower, the smallest fly,  
The sea, the waterfall,  
The bright green fields, the clear blue sky —  
'T is God that made them all.

"He gave me all my friends, and taught  
My heart to love them well,  
And he bestowed the power of thought,  
And speech my thoughts to tell.

"My father and my mother dear, —  
He is their father too ;  
He bids me all their precepts hear,  
And all they teach me, do.

"God sees and hears me all the day,  
And 'mid the darkest night;  
He views me when I disobey,  
And when I act aright.

"He guards me with a parent's care,  
When I am all alone:  
My hymn of praise, my humble prayer,  
He hears them every one.

"God hears what I am saying now,  
O! what a wondrous thought!  
My Heavenly Father, teach me how  
To love thee as I ought."

But beautiful as the whole volume is, and it is so beautiful that we shall not notice a few instances of defective melody which we know were sacrifices made to sense, (a sacrifice, by the way, which we do not approve,) — beautiful as the whole volume is, we hardly value it so much for what it is, as for the power it indicates in the author to do more. We could wish it were more exclusively for younger children, and that it had much more for children who are just old enough to comprehend the hymn above quoted. We could wish the author would devote herself to being the poet of childhood, that she would begin at the cradle with the lullaby, and make sweet accompaniment to the whole progress of the young beings, leading them by the bright waters, along the sunny fields of nature, consecrating their joys and sorrows with such thoughts as pervade the "Hymn for a Little Boy," and "Robinson Crusoe's Hymn"; and answering their deep and far-reaching questions, as Charley was answered in the Ballad which closes the book, and with which we will close our notice.

"CHARLEY AND HIS FATHER.

"A Ballad.

"The birds are flown away,  
The flowers are dead and gone,  
The clouds look cold and gray  
Around the setting sun.

"The trees with solemn sighs  
Their naked branches swing;  
The winter winds arise,  
And mournfully they sing.

“ Upon his father’s knee  
Was Charley’s happy place,  
And very thoughtfully  
He looked up in his face :

“ And these his simple words ;  
‘ Father, how cold it blows !  
What ’comes of all the birds  
Amidst the storms and snows ? ’

“ ‘ They fly far, far away  
From storms and snows and rain :  
But, Charley dear, next May  
They ’ll all come back again. ’

“ ‘ And will my flowers come too ? ’  
The little fellow said,  
‘ And all be bright and new  
That now looks cold and dead ? ’

“ ‘ Oh yes, dear ; in the spring  
The flowers will all revive,  
The birds return and sing,  
And all be made alive. ’

“ ‘ Who shows the birds the way,  
Father, that they must go ?  
And brings them back in May,  
When there is no more snow ?

“ ‘ And when no flower is seen  
Upon the hill and plain,  
Who ’ll make it all so green,  
And bring the flowers again ? ’

“ ‘ My son, there is a Power  
That none of us can see,  
Takes care of every flower,  
Gives life to every tree.

“ ‘ He through the pathless air  
Shows little birds their way :  
And we, too, are his care —  
He guards us day by day. ’

“ ‘ Father, when people die,  
Will they come back in May ? ’  
Tears were in Charley’s eye —  
‘ Will they, dear father, say ? ’

“ ‘No ! they will never come :  
We go to them, my boy,  
There, in our heavenly home,  
To meet in endless joy.’

“ Upon his father’s knee  
Still Charley kept his place,  
And very thoughtfully  
He looked up in his face.”

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ART. VI. — *Report of the Committee to whom were referred the various Petitions for an Alteration of the Constitution in the Third Article of the Bill of Rights.* 8vo. 1832.

THE first step has been taken by a vote of the last legislature towards expunging that part of the Constitution of this Commonwealth, which makes it to be the right and duty of the government to provide by law for the support of religious institutions, in all cases where such provision is not made voluntarily. This measure will doubtless be carried, if not now, at least at some period not remote, as the tendencies of public opinion are obviously in that direction. Under these circumstances, we neither wish to postpone the result, nor are we alarmed at its probable consequences ; our only wish is, that the people, whether they act for themselves or through their representatives on this subject, will take care to act understandingly.

The first settlers of Massachusetts were Dissenters, and had suffered too much from the operation of the tithe system in their native country, not to be jealous of any plan for the support of ministers by taxation. According to Hutchinson, therefore, the ministers of the several churches in the town of Boston, down to the Revolution, were supported “by a free weekly contribution.” The same writer adds : “I have seen a letter from one of the principal ministers of the colony expressing some doubts of the lawfulness of receiving a support in any other way.”\* Governor Winthrop also, in his

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\* Hutchinson’s History of Massachusetts, Vol. I. p. 375.



Journal for 1643, writes thus : \* "The churches held a different course in raising the ministers' maintenance. Some did it by way of taxation, which was very offensive to some. Amongst others one Briscoe, a tanner, of Watertown, being grieved with that course in their town, the rather because himself and others, who were no members, were taxed, wrote a book against it, wherein, besides his arguments which were nought, he cast reproach upon the elders and officers." Hubbard in giving an account of this transaction, says : "The ministers thought him who denied the authority of the civil magistrate to provide for the support of ministers *fuste potius erudiendum quam argumento*, and therefore they left it to the magistrates to defend the cause ; who convened the tanner before them, and brought him to an acknowledgment, if not to a sense, of his error."

The opinion however, that, other means failing, it was right to resort to compulsory laws to equalize and enforce the support of the ministry appears to have prevailed, very early, throughout New England. In the Platform, prepared and adopted by the Synod held at Cambridge in 1648, it is thus determined : † "Not only members of churches, but all that are taught in the word, are to contribute to him that teacheth, in all good things. In case that congregations are defective in their contributions, the deacons are to call upon them to do their duty ; if their call sufficeth not, the church by her power is to require it of their members ; and where church power, through the corruption of men, doth not or cannot attain the end, the magistrate is to see that the ministry is duly provided for."

It is remarkable that the government began to legislate respecting religious institutions before it did respecting common or town schools. One of the speakers in the Massachusetts Convention for revising the Constitution, said, with characteristic terseness, that "the common schools were the children of religion, and not religion the child of town schools ; and he hoped that the children would never succeed to destroy their mother." The first law authorizing and enjoining a ministerial tax bears date, August, 1654, by which "It is ordered, that the county court in every shire,

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\* Winthrop's History of New England, Vol. II. p. 93.

† The Cambridge and Saybrook Platforms of Church Discipline, p. 48.

shall upon information given them of any defect, of any congregation or town within the shire, order and appoint what maintenance shall be allowed to the minister of the place, and shall issue out warrants to the selectmen to assess the inhabitants, which the constable of said town shall collect and levy as other town rates." \*

The county courts, it would seem, were negligent of their duty; for in May, 1660, another law was passed enjoining it upon them "diligently and carefully to attend the execution of such orders of this court, as concerns the maintenance of the ministry," and to give it in charge to their respective grand juries "to present all abuses and neglects" of the same.

Again, in 1692, another law was passed reenacting the provisions of the former statutes, and adding the following, which must strike all, we should think, at the present day, as sufficiently energetic. "Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that where any town shall be destitute of a minister qualified as aforesaid, and shall so continue by the space of six months, not having taken due care for the procuring, settling, and encouragement of such minister, the same being made to appear upon complaint to their majesties' justices at the general sessions of the peace for the county, the said court of quarter sessions shall, and hereby are empowered to make an order upon every such defective town, speedily to provide themselves of such ministers as aforesaid, by the next sessions at the farthest; and in case such order be not complied with, then the said court shall take effectual care to procure and settle a minister qualified as aforesaid, and order the charge thereof, and of such minister's maintenance, to be levied on the inhabitants of such town."† From the history of the legislation on this subject, as well as from other sources, it appears that the early establishment and general and regular support of religious institutions in the colony and province, must be ascribed quite as much to the vigilance and energy of the government, as to the religious character and zeal of the people at large. Towns and settlements were multiplied, and many of them were small and poor, and the

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\* The Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay, p. 103.

† The Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay, p. 244.

deep-toned and self-denying piety of the Puritan, meanwhile, had declined ; but the hands of the government, as well for moral as political reasons, were much stronger then than at present, and its whole force was exerted in the effectual patronage of a regular ministry. An act still more effectually providing for the support of ministers was passed 1702, and an act in addition to this act, in 1723, of the same general character with those above mentioned. But the assumption of power by the state on this subject had now passed its culminating point, and had begun to go down and recede before the spirit of evasion and resistance which it had awakened.

After the adoption of the Charter of 1691 the only ground on which the government were warranted in proceeding in this matter is well expressed by Dr. Increase Mather in the account of his negotiations with the English court as agent for the colony. "Religion," says he, speaking of the provisions of that instrument, "is secured, for liberty is granted to all men to worship God after that manner, which, in their consciences, they shall be persuaded is the most Scriptural way. The general court may, by laws, encourage and protect that religion which is the general profession of the inhabitants." \* By a law, passed 1742, it is provided in favor of the church of England, that the taxes paid by any professed member of that communion into the town or parish treasury for the support of religious worship, may be withdrawn and paid over to "the minister of the said church, with whom he usually and frequently attends the public worship of God on the Lord's days," whether in the same or a neighbouring town. Temporary provisions were also made for easing the consciences of the Quakers and Baptists ; but, these having expired, it was finally enacted, November, 1757, "That from and after the first day of February next, none of the persons commonly called Quakers or Anabaptists, who allege a scruple of conscience as the reason of their refusal to pay any part or proportion of such taxes as are from time to time assessed for the support of the minister or ministers of any church settled by the laws of this province, in the town or district, precinct or parish, where they dwell, shall have their poll or estate, real or personal, in their own hands, and under their actual improvement, taxed towards the settlement or support of such

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\* Hutchinson's History, Vol. II. p. 17.

minister or ministers, nor for building or repairing any meeting-house, or place of public worship." \*

The framers of the Constitution, in 1780, went still further. The subject as they say in their Address to the People, "underwent long debate, and took time in proportion to its importance; and we feel peculiarly happy in being able to inform you, that though the debates were managed by persons of various denominations, it was finally agreed upon with more unanimity than usually takes place in disquisitions of this nature." The Third Article in the Bill of Rights reads thus:

"As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community, but by the institution of the public worship of God, and of public instructions in piety, religion, and morality: Therefore, to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this Commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require, and the legislature shall, from time to time, authorize and require the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in all cases where such Provision shall not be made voluntarily. And the people of this Commonwealth have also a right to, and do, invest their legislature with authority to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers aforesaid, at stated times and seasons, if there be any, on whose instruction they can conscientiously and conveniently attend.

"Provided notwithstanding, That the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, shall, at all times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance.

"And all moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the teacher or teachers, of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends; otherwise, it may be paid towards the support of the teacher, or teachers, of the parish or precinct in which said moneys are raised.

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\* Charters and General Laws, p. 782.

"And every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects of the Commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any one sect, or denomination, to another, shall ever be established by law."

A portion of the community have been uneasy under this part of the Constitution from the beginning. It is admitted, however, that in all cases which have come before the courts for adjudication, the most liberal construction has been put on the language of the obnoxious article.\* The legislature has also manifested a willingness to interpose, from time to time, with a view to reconcile the disaffected, and meet the cases as they arose of real or supposed grievance. By the law of 1799 all laws passed on this subject prior to the adoption of the Constitution were repealed. Still it was made the duty of every corporate town, precinct, or society to be constantly provided with a "public Protestant teacher of piety, religion, and morality," under penalty of a fine similar to that imposed on towns for neglecting to maintain common schools. They are also authorized to cause all sums of money, by them respectively voted to be raised for parochial purposes, to be assessed on all the ratable polls and property within each particular corporation, the polls and estates of Quakers excepted, and to be collected and paid into the treasury. Afterwards it is provided, according to the Constitution, that moneys paid into the treasury by persons of a different religious sect or denomination may be drawn out again, and be applied to the use and support of the public teacher or teachers on whose instruction they usually and respectively attend. It is also further provided, "that the assessors of each parish or religious society within this Commonwealth may omit, in the taxes voted to be assessed on the polls and estates within such parish or society, such persons living within the limits of the same, as belong to and usually attend public

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\* See particularly Mr. Whittemore's account of Mr. Murray's case in 1786, in his "Modern History of Universalism," p. 356. Mr. Whittemore says, that the Universalists of Gloucester rejoiced "that it fell to their lot to resist the beginnings of oppression under the new Constitution, and to test, at so early a period, its liberal provision in favor of the freest toleration."

worship in a religious society of a different denomination." \* Again, by the statute of 1811 "respecting public worship and religious freedom," it is further enacted, "that whenever any person shall become a member of any religious society, *corporate or unincorporate*, within this Commonwealth, and such membership shall be certified by a committee of such society, chosen for this purpose, and filed with the clerk of the town where he dwells, such person shall for ever afterwards be exempted from taxation for the support of public worship, and public teachers of religion, in every other religious corporation whatsoever, so long as he shall continue such membership." † Still further to prevent liability to wrong or hardship through ignorance, or misconception of the law, an act in addition to the act last named was passed in 1823, which makes *any ten or more persons*, if legal voters, and acting under a warrant from a justice of the peace within the county, competent to the formation and legal organization of a parish or religious society. It is also declared "that any person may separate from one religious society and join another, *either of the same or of a different denomination*, by filing with the clerk of the society left, a certificate of the fact." The third section expressly and definitively ordains that "no citizen of this Commonwealth, being a member of any religious society in this Commonwealth, shall be assessed or liable to pay any tax for the support of public worship, or other parochial charges, *to any parish, precinct, or religious society whatever, other than that of which he is a member*;" ‡ and all laws inconsistent with or contrary to the provisions of this act are pronounced null and void.

This is the existing law. Here it may be proper to observe that in the Massachusetts Convention for revising the Constitution, which met in 1820, much time was taken up in the discussion of the Third Article; and an amendment, which seems, however, to have met the hearty concurrence of but few, was finally adopted and submitted to the people, and by them rejected. The amendment then proposed substituted the term "Christian" for "Protestant," and expunged the clause which authorizes the legislature to require attendance on public worship; but in other respects, and in its practical

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\* General Laws of Massachusetts, Vol. II. p. 33.

† Ibid. p. 277.

‡ Ibid. Vol. III. p. 53.

provisions, it was less liberal than the law of 1823.\* Further it will be recollected, that in Boston, Salem, Newburyport, Charlestown, and other large towns in the Commonwealth, the ministers of all denominations are supported exclusively, either by voluntary contribution, or by a tax on pews, and not by a tax on property, or a general tax on the inhabitants. In some of the small towns too, and in old and territorial parishes, it has been found expedient to forego any advantage to be derived from the legal provision for the support of public worship, and to depend wholly on voluntary subscriptions or contributions.

In this state of things it is proposed to alter the Third Article, so as to make it read as follows :

“ As the public worship of God and instructions in piety, religion, and morality promote the happiness and prosperity of a people, and the security of a republican government : — Therefore, the several religious societies of this Commonwealth, whether corporate or unincorporate, at any meeting legally

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\* The power and the duty of the legislature to require provision to be made for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public teachers of piety, religion, and morality, were confidently asserted and maintained by a large proportion of the eminent jurists and statesmen in the Convention, both Orthodox and Liberal ; among whom we may particularly mention Mr. Bliss of Springfield, Mr. Hubbard of Boston, Judges Parker, Jackson, and Wilde, Mr. Hoar of Concord, and Mr. Saltonstall of Salem. Mr. Hubbard went so far as even to oppose the expunging of the clause authorizing the legislature to compel attendance on public worship. “ Gentlemen say,” he observed, “ that the legislature ought to have power to provide for the support of public worship. It did not seem wise to give the right to compel the people to support public worship, and not to give the right to compel attendance. It was a power which might with the same propriety be granted. If it was not necessary that the legislature should possess the power in the present state of society, it was impossible to say that thirty years hence the prevalence of immorality and vice might not be such as to make it extremely desirable. The authority being now expressly granted, if that were struck out of the Constitution, the inference would be, that the legislature did not possess the power. He held, if we gave the legislature power to make laws, it was our bounden duty to give power to carry them into effect. He was, therefore, against the resolution.” *Journal of Debates and Proceedings in the Convention*, p. 161. Again, he said : “ He was clearly of opinion that the community had a right to make laws on the subject of public worship, on this principle, that what it is the duty of the citizen to perform, it is proper for the legislature to compel him to perform.” *Ibid.* p. 180.

warned and held for the purpose, shall ever have the right to elect their pastors or religious teachers, to contract with them, for their support, to raise money for erecting and repairing houses of public worship, for the maintenance of religious instruction, and for the payment of necessary expenses: — And all persons belonging to any religious society, shall be taken and held to be members, until they shall file with the clerk of such society a written notice declaring the dissolution of their membership, and thenceforth shall not be liable for any grant or contract which may be thereafter made or entered into by such society: — And all religious sects and denominations, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good citizens of the Commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law. And no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law."

This amendment passed at the last session of the legislature by a vote of more than two thirds of the House of Representatives and a majority of the Senate. If at the present session it again obtains the constitutional majorities, it will then be submitted to the people for their acceptance or rejection.

As has been intimated before, we take much less interest in the determination of this particular question than is commonly expressed either by those who advocate, or those who oppose, the amendment under consideration. The former can hardly make out, as it seems to us, a very strong case of oppression or hardship. So long as they voluntarily continue connected with a society whose practice it is to support their minister by a tax, they must pay their proportion, and no more than their proportion. If, however, they become uneasy under this burden, they can *poll off*, as it is called, and join a society whose minister is supported by voluntary subscription or contribution, or a society who get their preaching for nothing, or do their own preaching. Whatever may have been the real intention of the framers of the Constitution, it is certain that under the operation of the present law no person, in point of fact, is obliged against his will to continue to contribute in any way to the support of religious institutions.

The cry of "aristocracy" and "church and state," as a means of exciting a popular prejudice against the Third Article, can hardly be raised in good faith. It was doubtless the understanding of our fathers, that as public religious worship



was a public good, the rich ought to contribute to its support according to their property. Whether they were right or wrong in this principle, it was evidently their intention by adopting it to make the public burdens fall on those who were best able to bear them, — on the rich. If, therefore, there is any class in the community, which, as a class, are directly interested, for selfish reasons, in expunging that part of the Constitution which recognises the right of supporting religious institutions by a general tax, it is the rich. If it were necessary or proper to appeal to the suspicions and jealousies of the people on this subject, it might be well to inquire whether the present movement is not a preliminary step towards the repeal of all legal provision for the support of common schools. There would be the same or similar reasons, and the same or similar motives, for the latter as for the former, and the only immediate effect would be to exonerate the rich still further from their equitable share of the public burdens.

At the same time, if it is the will of the people, acting in their sovereign capacity, that the proposed amendment should go into effect, we are entirely content. They who are most earnest in the opposition forget, as it seem to us, that it is a question which must be decided with a constant reference to existing circumstances and the state of public opinion. That much of the early legislation on this subject, whether it can be defended in theory or not, did good, by causing the village church to go up with the village, and thus incorporating religion, as it were, with the germ of every infant settlement, will probably be admitted by all who are acquainted with the history of New England. But it does not follow that there is a like necessity for such legislation now, nor that such legislation now would be attended with like results. Every body knows that governments, as such, have lost much of the power they once had over the *minds* of men; and that laws, in respect to religion in particular, and religious institutions, have become, generally speaking, as impotent as they are obnoxious. Under these circumstances it may well be doubted, whether it is expedient to keep up the semblance of an authority, which has ceased to be either respectable or formidable; and the only probable effect of which will be to provoke and exasperate some, to excite the jealousies of others, and to afford a handle to disorganizers generally in their appeals to popular feeling and prejudice.

Besides, in what material particular will the existing legal provisions in support of religious institutions be affected by the proposed amendment? So far as this change consists in expunging from the Constitution the odious distinction there recognised in favor of Protestantism, and the clause authorizing the legislature to enjoin attendance on public worship, few, if any, at the present day, will deny that it is a change for the better. The ground of objection, therefore, must be that the Article as amended does not expressly authorize and require the legislature to interfere, in any case, to insure the support of religious worship, nor contemplate the plan of supporting religious worship by a general tax, nor secure to territorial parishes their prescriptive rights and immunities. But is it worth while to contend very earnestly for the theoretical and express recognition of a power in the hands of the government, which the government does not exert, and which there is not the smallest probability it ever will exert; nay, which, by asserting the rights of unincorporate societies, it has long since virtually disowned and renounced? Or what very important practical purpose can be gained by requiring that the Constitution shall continue to read as if religious institutions were supported by a general and equitable tax, while every body knows that in practice this is now, and long has been, as contrary to fact, as it ever can be, should the proposed amendment pass? And as for the prescriptive rights and immunities of the old, or territorial parishes, is it not clear that, by the multiplication of legal *évasions*, they are, practically speaking, already reduced to a nullity? The practical operation of the proposed amendment, as it seems to us, would be substantially the same as that of the existing law, differing only in not insisting on the formality of requiring every individual, in most towns, nominally to belong to some religious society. A few in consequence might be induced silently to drop their connexion with the old parish; but then as an equivalent they would have no motive, as now, to persuade others to join them in the secession. What the old parish might lose in one way, would probably be more than made up to it in the other. Even on the principles assumed by those who oppose the amendment, it seems to us that the objections to the amendment are not so strong as the objections to the existing law, and the practice founded on it. But it will be said, perhaps, that the existing law is bad,

and ought to be revised and made more efficient ; and that it can be, under the Constitution as it now stands, but not if the amendment prevails. It was urged more than once, we are aware, in the Convention of 1820, that it was desirable that the legislature should retain authority to provide for the support of Christian worship,—that it might repeal the law of 1811, and fall back on the provisions of the law of 1799. If, however, we may judge from the history of legislation in general, and on religion in particular, and in this country especially, we should say, that this proceeding, even if expedient, is just about as probable in point of fact, as that the legislature will repeal the Revolution, and induce the people to go back to their condition as a British colony. We say it with submission, but we must nevertheless say, that we are more and more convinced that those who are most eager and zealous in opposing the amendment under consideration, are contending for a mere semblance of what they want ; and yet that in doing so they are exciting against themselves, and against their cause, the same resistance, and the same jealousies, as if they were contending for a reality. Undoubtedly religious institutions are indispensable to the well-being of the Commonwealth, and on this account undoubtedly every enlightened patriot, whether he believes in any religion or not, will cheerfully contribute his proportion to their support. But why are religious institutions thus indispensable to the well-being of the Commonwealth, except as they have the effect to keep alive and diffuse in the community religious sentiment and religious principle ? Now to us at least it is obvious, that if these institutions are supported by means which are felt, though without reason, to be wrong and oppressive, instead of promoting the influence of religious sentiment and religious principle over the public mind, their tendency must be to subvert and destroy that influence utterly. Better have no religious institutions, than have them as objects of general suspicion, reviling, and blasphemy. Under a government like ours nothing can compensate, either in a moral or political view, for the evils induced by exciting a popular odium, however unjustifiable, against religion itself, its ministers, or its institutions.

A great deal too much alarm has been expressed, as it seems to us, in regard to the probable consequences, present or remote, if the proposed amendment should be adopted.

Several of the ablest among the alarmists, in the Convention for revising the Constitution, ingenuously confessed that their fears respecting the operation of the "religious freedom act" of 1811, had not been realized. Why then should so much be apprehended from the operation of the proposed amendment, which, after all, is little more than a reassertion of the provisions of that very law, as interpreted by the courts? We are conjured to look at the moral and religious condition of the Western States, and at the fate of religious institutions in Virginia, after being abandoned by the government. But the cases are not parallel, as it seems to us, not only on account of acknowledged differences in the character of the people, but for other reasons. The Western States have never had regular religious institutions; and in Virginia, in that part of it at least to which reference is here made, the people are thinly scattered over their plantations; they do not live in towns as we do, and never have had, and never can have, many of the habits, and prejudices, and facilities which induce New-Englanders so generally to rally round the village church. The fear is intimated that rational and liberal Christians will lose by the change. We do not believe it; at any rate, it is self-evident to us that they cannot lose a thousandth part so much by the change, as by opposing it. Congregationalism also is in danger. So they said of the law of 1811; but it is now believed, at least by many, that if that law had been passed in 1799, Congregationalism would, to this hour, have retained its ascendancy. Multitudes seceded from the old parishes, not so much for theological, as for political, or mercenary, or personal reasons; but to do so according to the old law, it was necessary for them to form a new society, and that that society should *not* be Congregational; and hence arose Baptist, and Universalist, and Methodist societies without number. Again, it is objected, that if the legislature withdraws its patronage from the territorial parishes, every thing will be thrown up to the zeal and activity of the contending sects. We answer, that it is so now, at least, virtually; and the sooner we know on what ground we stand, the better; and perhaps, after all, it is the best ground. While the churches were almost of one denomination it was convenient, and perhaps necessary, to provide for the support of public worship by a general law; but in the present

diversity of sects, it must certainly be more agreeable, and equitable, and in our judgment more practicable and convenient, and equally safe, to let each sect adopt its own method. We can hardly help smiling at the solicitude sometimes manifested about what is likely to happen *after* sects have ceased, or ceased to be zealous and active, as sects.

Alarmists in this case may see further than we can; but it is a happy circumstance in the history of our country, that alarmists, thus far, have not been prophets; events have not verified their forebodings. Indeed, we must be permitted to doubt the good sense, the expediency, the dignity, every time an obnoxious sentiment is promulgated, or an important election is lost, of crying out, "We be all dead men." We read the heavens differently. When were greater, or more systematic, or, we may add, better intended, or better directed efforts made for building up the waste places of Zion, here and every where, than at the present moment? Doubtless it is consistent with religious liberty, not that religion itself, but that religious institutions should be made matter, in some respects, of civil regulation; but it is another question whether this course, under existing circumstances, is necessary, or expedient, or safe. There are things which the people will do voluntarily, which they will not do, and cannot be made to do, on compulsion. For the future support of Christian worship, we rely much less on human legislation, than on human nature. We rely, moreover, on the intelligence and virtue of the people, being convinced that they will not suffer institutions to fall into decay and ruin, to which this community is indebted for almost every thing by which its character is so honorably distinguished. We rely on the intrinsic vitality and energy of the religion itself, which, though overlaid as it is by such masses of error and corruption, the error and corruption cannot kill. Above all, we rely on the over-ruling providence of God, we hope not superstitiously, nor presumptuously, but yet implicitly, that He will not suffer the church, which was planted by the care, and watered by the tears, and consecrated by the prayers of our fathers, to be prevailed against by the gates of hell.

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[For the Christian Examiner.]

ART. VII. — *Defence of the Third Article.*

[We have given briefly, in the preceding article, our views of the subject here discussed by our correspondent. It will be seen that we differ from him materially in regard to some of his statements and reasonings, and his general conclusion, and must not be held responsible for them. Truth and justice, however, require that the argument of those who oppose the amendment of the Third Article should be understood, and not be misrepresented. — *The Editors.*]

THIS article has stood unaltered ever since the adoption of the Constitution of the State. On this rests the legal liability of every citizen to be taxed for the support of religious institutions. On this depend the privileges of the territorial or first parishes throughout the State. With this are connected, more or less immediately, the present financial arrangements of almost every religious society in the Commonwealth. The question now pending, with regard to this Article, ought not then to be viewed with indifference. Its main feature is that it empowers the legislature to make legal provision for the maintenance of public worship.

Those who are in favor of its repeal, or essential modification, in my opinion, mistake the question at issue. They state it to be this: "Has government, which was established for political ends, a right to step out of its province, to interfere in the controversy between the friends and foes of Christianity, and to patronize a system of belief in which its subjects are not agreed? Has government a right to provide for the support of religion *as such*?" To this question I should unhesitatingly reply in the negative. To this question our Constitution itself replies in the negative; for in its preamble the end of government is said to be "to secure the existence of the body politic; to protect it; and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying, in safety and tranquillity, their natural rights and the blessings of life." This end government effects, 1. *directly*, by providing for the appointment and compensation of public officers in all departments, and for the making and administering of such laws as bear immediately upon personal security, liberty, and property; and, 2. *indirectly*, by *conducting* such operations and *patronizing* such institutions

as tend to make men better citizens, to facilitate the enjoyment of their rights and their property, and to extend the means of social intercourse. These operations and institutions are not conducted and patronized on account of their intrinsic excellence; but because they indirectly tend to promote the end of government. We do not support schools at the public expense, because education is in itself a good thing, because it enlarges and ennobles the mind, because it is the ornament of prosperity and the solace of adversity; but because, unless intelligence be diffused, the existence of the body politic cannot be secured, and the natural rights of man and the blessings of life cannot be enjoyed. We make and repair roads at the public expense, not because a good road is a good thing in itself; but because without convenient means of passage, the citizens cannot hold that intercourse with each other, which is requisite for the enjoyment of social rights and property, for mutual protection, for the very existence of the body politic. And thus if government can lawfully support religious institutions, it is not because religion is a good thing in itself, because its consolations and hopes are man's best, — his only enduring treasure; but simply because it makes men better citizens, and secures to them the safe and tranquil enjoyment of their natural rights and the blessings of life. This is the ground taken in the Article now under consideration. Those who framed it do not say, "As religion is intrinsically excellent," or "As the Christian religion is a divine revelation," or "As man cannot be happy here or hereafter without religion," "therefore we provide for the establishment of public worship." This, as *Christians*, they might have said; but as *legislators* they say: "*As the happiness of a people and the good order and preservation of civil government essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community, but by the institution of the public worship of God and of public instructions in piety, religion, and morality, therefore the people have a right to make provision for the support of public worship.*" Thus it appears that the framers of our Constitution placed religious institutions on the same footing with our public schools, our highways, &c., as one of the *indirect* means of effecting the end of civil government. Whether they were right in assigning this place to the insti-

tutions of public worship, whether legal provision ought to be made for the support of religion at the public expense, depends upon the answer given to the three following questions: 1. Have religious institutions an important political bearing? 2. Is it the tendency of the Christian institution of public worship, "to secure the existence of the body politic, and to protect and facilitate the enjoyment of natural and social rights, and of the blessings of life"? 3. Can this institution be the most permanently established, the most equitably maintained, and the most generally enjoyed, by means of a legal provision for supporting it at the public expense?

To the *first* of these questions every man, and to the *second* every Christian, must needs reply in the affirmative. But many sincere friends of Christianity oppose the granting of legislative support to religious institutions, on the ground that they may be better supported without the interference of the civil power. Whether this ground be tenable or not will depend upon the answer given to the *third* of the questions above proposed.

And in answer to this question let me first observe, that a tax laid upon every one in proportion to his ability, is the most *equitable* mode of supporting public worship. I have showed that the only ground on which the government have a right to support it is on account of its tendency to secure the order and welfare of the community. And there is no reason why a tax should not be laid for its maintenance, on the same principles on which one is assessed for the support of education, of the militia system, and of every other auxiliary of government. The rich man has the greater amount of property, which is preserved from depredation in part by the knowledge of the Christian system of morality and the sense of religious obligations diffused through the community; and, by the profanation of the Sabbath, and the freedom from religious restraint consequent upon the suspension of public worship, he would be obliged to furnish the larger quota for the support of paupers and the detection of criminals. He therefore should in justice contribute his full proportion to the parish, as well as to the town or the State tax. Every man that pays a tax would have that tax greatly increased by the suspension of public worship. Every such man, then, is in equity bound to contribute to its support in proportion to his means.



But, should the Article under consideration be repealed, it would be impossible for parishes to enforce the system of taxation. Those who are rich in this world's goods are not always rich in faith and in good works; and, unless the law compelled them to it, it would be difficult to induce many of them to pay the parish tax which they now pay. There are also among us many infidels, many who are unable to attend places of worship belonging to their own denomination, and a still larger class who are altogether indifferent to religion, all of whom would at once rob the parish treasuries of their annual taxes. The result would be, that in many places public worship could be maintained only by the greatest efforts and sacrifices on the part of the devout; and in many more it would be entirely suspended.

Again; the support of public worship by a general tax is not only equitable, but it is the system under which worship will be the most generally attended. Many attend it simply because they pay for its support. They go to meeting in order to get their money's worth. There can be no doubt that it is the circumstance of their being paid for by every one, that makes every one so ready to use our public schools. In Connecticut the common schools are supported by a State fund; and it has been observed by those qualified to make the comparison, that attendance upon such schools is there much less general and punctual than in this State, where every man knows that a part of his town tax is paid to the teacher of his children. Now I do not say that he, who sends his child to school because he must at any rate help support the school, sends him from a right motive. But yet he keeps his child out of harm's way, and furnishes him with the means of improvement. Nor would I assert that he who goes to church because, whether he goes or not, he must help support the minister, goes from a right motive. But he nevertheless keeps himself out of mischief, and puts himself in the way of the holiest influences. Those who go to scoff, often remain to pray; and how much more likely is he, who goes soberly, though not religiously, to use a purchased right, how much more likely is he, I say, to have his attention arrested, his feelings awakened, and his mind interested in divine truth. And even if he receive no profitable impressions, he is at least kept from places, where he might learn much evil. If he does not hallow, he is kept

from profaning, the Sabbath. If he grows no better, he is prevented from becoming worse. If he does not employ the hours of sacred leisure in fitting himself for heaven, they at least do not make him a curse to himself and to society.

If public worship be not supported by general taxation, it must be supported in one of two other ways, — either by a voluntary subscription, or by an assessment upon pews. And we ought in fairness to examine the operation of each of these two modes, before deciding on the merits of the present system.

1. What would be the consequence of attempting to support public worship by subscription? In small parishes, where the richest men would be unwilling to contribute in full proportion to their ability, and where men who disbelieved in Christianity, or cared nothing about it, would give nothing, the support of public worship would either be abandoned, or furnished by the self-denying efforts of men of moderate or very small property. And where its support might be secured without great sacrifices on the part of the worshippers, the annual stipend of the minister would vary according to the avarice, caprice, or prejudices of those who paid it. And he could not look upon his connexion with his people as in any degree permanent, since, whenever a rich or liberal, though small minority became his enemies, or ceased to be his friends, the majority would be obliged to dismiss him. A minister thus situated would not have the stimulus to systematic and unremitted efforts for the good of his people, which he has, who may expect, if prudent and faithful, to die their pastor. His independence also would be weakened or destroyed. He would be led to seek the favor of man, rather than that of God; — to suit the doctrine to the people rather than to bring the people to conform to sound doctrine; — to flatter their prejudices, habits, and propensities, rather than to try them fearlessly by the standard of the Gospel. He would in fact be the servant of man rather than of God, — the echo of public sentiment rather than the interpreter of the Divine will.

Again; if the support of the clergy, and the tenure of their settlement, become precarious, the standard of ministerial qualifications must be lowered. The profession will not be deserted; but men will rush unarmed to the battle. The reason why the clergy in our own State have generally

been so well educated, is, that while making a thorough and expensive preparation for the profession, they have had the prospect of competent and permanent support. Perhaps two thirds of our educated clergy have been obliged to run in debt for a part or all of their preparatory studies. Now this no upright man will do, unless his profession afford him the prospect of a compensation so ample and so long continued as to enable him to discharge his obligations.

2. Let us now inquire into the effect of supporting public worship by a pew-tax. This is a tax which presses equally upon the rich and poor, and not only so, but is one which imposes the greatest burden upon those who are the least able to bear it, — upon men with large families. It is therefore inequitable. In many parishes, too, the number of families is so small, that the sum which would necessarily be assessed upon a single pew would be wholly beyond the means of any but the richest parishioners. And, wherever worship is supported in this way, those who cannot afford the tax are prevented from attending church; whereas, in those parishes where it is supported by a tax upon property or income, very poor people often hold pews by inheritance or at a trifling rent. In Boston, where worship is supported by a pew-tax, there are thousands of people who never enter a meeting-house; and not much more than half, certainly not two-thirds of the population, are connected with the regular religious societies. And why? Because the ministers receive high salaries, which are raised by assessing upon each pew-holder an annual tax, varying slightly with the situation and size of his pew, but in every case large enough to discourage persons of very limited income from purchasing or hiring pews. There are to be sure, in most of the churches, free or poor seats; but our people have not yet learned to divide in public places, and to take their seats regularly and quietly in the ranks of wealth and of poverty. And indeed the room assigned to the poor in our city churches is too small to accommodate any considerable portion of those who need gratuitous seats. This evil has attended the support of religion by a pew-tax in all the large towns in our own State; and in those towns the proportion borne by the number of religious societies to the whole population is much less than in other parts of the State. In Boston there is far from being church-room enough to ac-

commodate the whole population, which probably would never have been the case, if the old mode of supporting worship by general taxation had not been abandoned. Of course this mode of supporting religious institutions is liable also to the objection, that it exempts infidels and those who neglect attendance upon public worship from paying for its maintenance, while they enjoy in full the social benefits resulting from it.

If the comparison that has now been drawn between the different modes of supporting public worship is just, it establishes the affirmative of the proposition that this institution may be the most permanently established, the most equitably maintained, and the most generally enjoyed by means of a legal provision for supporting it at the public expense.

As, then, religious institutions in general have a most momentous political bearing; as the Christian institution of public worship has a directly and highly beneficial political influence; and as it can best be supported by a legal provision, I think myself authorized in inferring, that (if the framers of our Constitution have rightly defined the end of civil government) it is right and expedient, that legal provision be made for the support of religion at the public expense. And if so, the repeal or essential modification of the Third Article of the Bill of Rights is inexpedient and unjust. There are several circumstances which would render it peculiarly inexpedient at the present time. Of these, I shall mention but two.

1. One of these is the prevalence of sectarianism. Baptists and Episcopalians, Methodists and Universalists, Unitarians and Calvinists, are all striving for the mastery. All these sects have zeal, talents, and wealth. Each has that confidence in the rectitude, in the sanctity of its cause, which prompts to firm purpose, resolute action, and self-denying liberality. But this whirlwind of excitement cannot last for ever. After the storm must come a calm; — after the feverish fervor, lukewarmness, I fear, and indifference. And then, if there be no legal provision for the support of public worship, the resources of the community, divided, crippled, exhausted, will furnish but scanty supplies for an object sacred indeed, but one which zeal has ceased to foster. And it would be by no means strange, if the abolition of the present legal provision should be followed at no great distance

of time by a period of indifference and declension. But, if this provision be retained, when the present period of controversy and sectarian zeal has gone by, each territorial parish will hold its rights, will support a public teacher of the denomination which shall have been the most successful within its limits, and will gradually increase in numbers and wealth by the dissolution of societies, whose zeal has failed and whose resources will no longer permit their independent existence; and the people will gradually accustom themselves to the ordinary, quiet, unostentatious conduct of public worship, will take a growing interest in it, and will make constant and sure improvement under it.

2. Another circumstance which makes this a peculiarly unfavorable crisis for abolishing the Article under consideration is the present prevalence of infidelity. Skeptical books, pamphlets, and periodical writings are widely circulated. In Boston there is an ably conducted and widely circulated Deistical or Atheistical newspaper, and a hall where infidel principles are each Sabbath openly inculcated. And it is impossible to tell how much of the talent and influence enlisted throughout the State against this Third Article is secretly devoted to infidelity. Be that as it may, the repeal of it is what the members of that party have long been anxiously desiring, and are now joyfully expecting; and, if it pass, they will not be backward in improving it to their own advantage. They will find the work of overthrowing or undermining religious institutions far easier, if they are left unprotected by the government. Their busy agents or inflammatory publications will easily find their way into any parish, which is weakened, impoverished, or disturbed in consequence of the rejection of this Article. That they will ultimately or permanently triumph, I do not believe. But I do think, that, by the measure, for which many sincere Christians are now ardently contending, their hands will be much strengthened, and their hearts yet more emboldened.

I shall close this communication by considering the most popular objections urged against the present mode of supporting public worship, and the Article on which it is founded.

1. It is said that provisions are made in that Article, which are not complied with. For instance, it would appear from that Article that every citizen is to be required to contribute his quota to the support of public worship, whereas, in all

our larger towns, this requisition is evaded by the plan of taxing pews. Again, this Article provides for the support of *Protestant* religious teachers only, whereas Catholic teachers are tolerated here, nor are Catholics obliged to contribute to the support of Protestant worship. This Article also asserts a right in the government to require every individual to attend worship, — a right which, it is said, is and ever ought to be waved in practice. “And thus,” say our objectors, “some portions of this Article are merely a dead letter, the continuance of which detracts from the dignity of our Constitution.” In reply, I would observe that a declaration of rights differs essentially from a body of laws. No law which cannot be or is not executed, should be permitted to remain on the statute-book, for it makes the body of laws with which it stands connected, and the legislature which enacted it, undignified and weak in the eyes of the people. But a people may assert rights which it does not uniformly exercise, or delegate to its government rights which in practice may be frequently or permanently suspended. In framing a declaration of rights, the question is not what rights the people exercise, or what rights it is convenient immediately to cede to the government; but what rights the people in their collective capacity actually possess, or with what rights they may invest their government, in order that it may answer the ends of its institution. I have already showed that the government *have a right* to require every man to contribute for the support of public worship. And it may at no great distance of time *be expedient* for them, in order to secure the better maintenance of public worship and a more general attendance upon it, to restore the old territorial limits of the parishes in the large towns, and to make every citizen a parishioner. Let them not, then, be deprived of this right, which in justice is theirs. The government also has a right to choose the Protestant in preference to the Catholic faith, on the same ground on which it makes choice of the Christian in preference to the Mahometan or the Hindoo religion; that is, on the ground that it is better adapted to promote good morals, peace, and social order. At the time when our Constitution was framed, the Catholic faith was supposed unfavorable to morality, and consequently to the welfare of the body politic; and it was therefore wisely excluded from the legal provision. It

has since proved itself the friend of good morals ; and has in the larger towns kept from the wildest disorder, and induced frequently to a restitution of stolen goods and a reparation of injury an emigrant population, who without their priests and confessionals would have been an intolerable nuisance. And the Catholics have accordingly been admitted to equal privileges and immunities with the several denominations of Protestants. But the Catholics in this country are connected with Europe, whence they receive their priests, and draw most of their funds ; and in the course of political events a crisis may perhaps arrive, when it would be expedient to make efforts to suppress the denomination, not on account of their tenets, but of their intimate connexion with foreign powers. And in such a crisis the government may be called upon to exercise the right with which the Constitution entrusts it, of requiring every man to contribute to the support of *Protestant* worship.

This Article does not invest the legislature with the right of requiring all men under all circumstances to attend public worship ; but only, "*if there be any public religious teachers, whose instructions they can conveniently and conscientiously attend.*" That government has a right to demand the personal service or attendance of citizens, is a principle recognised in our militia system. Inconvenience and conscientious scruples are the only excuses allowed in this case. The former exempts the absent and sick ; the latter, the Quakers. And in the grant of a right to require men to attend church, both of these excuses are recognised. Thus this Article can never empower the legislature to drive to church the sick or the feeble, the halt or the blind, the wind-bound or the storm-bound, the Deist or the Atheist, or those Christians, who, like Cowper, conscientiously refuse to join in public worship. I do not indeed think it by any means important that this provision should be retained in the Article. Let this, let the provision which limits legislative patronage to *Protestant* religious societies, be expunged, and all that I regard as essential to the Article remains. I have barely attempted to show that, since this article is a declaration of certain rights,—not a statute, there is no necessity of expunging these provisions from it, because not recognised in practice.

2. Those who favor the repeal of this article assert, that

in the States where similar legal provisions have been repealed, no harm has been done by the repeal. That in several of those States, towns which a few years ago enjoyed the regular ministrations of settled clergymen, are now destitute, is an undeniable fact. But it would be equally impossible to show that they have, or that they have not, become destitute in consequence of the repeal of legislative provisions previously existing. We will allow, then, that the religious societies in those States were not essentially injured by that repeal. It does not follow that the societies in our own State will be left unharmed by a similar measure. The repeal took place in those States before the mutual alienation of religious parties had arrived at its crisis. And perhaps it may have been of service in healing dissensions and preventing an entire rupture in many small parishes; for at such a time the sincere friends of religion would naturally consent to wave unessential differences, in order to preserve unimpaired the institutions from which the government had withdrawn its patronage. But among us the division is already entire; the alienation utterly irreconcilable.

Again, when we compare the States where religious institutions were formerly supported by law with those where they never were so, we shall perceive that the former owe much of their religious prosperity to the laws now repealed. In the States where no such laws ever existed, well-educated and permanently settled clergymen are maintained in the cities and larger towns; but the pulpits in the less populous portions, are, in general, indebted for a precarious supply to itinerant preachers (many of them supported by charitable funds), and, in some large districts, to men devoted and zealous indeed, but hardly superior in education or refinement to the humblest of their charge. In our own State, and in States where religion has till recently been supported by law, the cities and large towns are the very places where religious societies are the least numerous in proportion to the population; and yet they are much more numerous than in the cities and large towns of other States.

3. Some object to the support of public worship by a tax upon all the citizens, on the ground that all, or that they themselves, *cannot or do not attend church*. Let us test this ground by supposing one or two parallel cases. A man goes to the town assessors and says: "I have no children to send



to the public schools ; and must therefore beg you to abate that portion of my tax which is appropriated to their support." The assessors might justly say to such a man : " You derive numberless blessings from living in an intelligent community. If the people are well-educated, they will use discreetly the right of suffrage ; if they are ignorant, they will impose upon you worthless rulers, or will involve themselves or you in the horrors of anarchy. We tax you, then, for the support of a system, which secures to the people, — to you, the permanence of social order and prosperity. Expect therefore no abatement." Another man sends a message to the assessors in terms like these : " I have been prevented by bodily infirmity from riding or walking out for the last two or three years ; and probably shall never go out again. I must therefore request you to excuse me from paying my high-way tax." The assessors might fairly reply : " The community of which you are a member, which defends you, which protects you, could not subsist unless the members of it had convenient means of passage to each other's dwellings. We tax you, then, for what is essential to the existence of the body politic, — essential to your own comfort and prosperity. We therefore must request or compel you to pay your high-way tax." And in like manner we might say to him who is unwilling to contribute to the support of public worship, because he never attends it : " Though you never go to church, you derive innumerable benefits from living in a community where the Sabbath is observed, and its public services regularly performed and well attended. Your property, your life, your character is rendered more secure by the sense of religious obligation, which the institution of public worship has diffused throughout the community. Your other taxes are also made lighter by the pauperism and crime which that institution prevents. We therefore hold you liable to be taxed for the support of an institution thus eminently beneficial to the public and to you."

4. But another yet more plausible objection is sometimes urged against the support of public worship by a tax indiscriminately laid. There are those, who profess that they cannot *conscientiously contribute to the support of Christian institutions*, as they are not believers in the Christian religion. Let us answer their objection also by the supposition of a similar case. The Quakers, as is well known, have conscientious objections to engaging in military opera-

tions. Suppose a Quaker delegation should make application to the proper State and national authorities after this manner: "We cannot conscientiously pay a tax for the military expenses of the state. We beg you therefore to deduct from our State tax the proportion of it which is appropriated to that department. And, as nearly one third of the national expenditure goes to the support of the army and navy, we shall expect that, whenever a member of our fraternity imports any article chargeable with duty, he be required to pay but two thirds of the duty demanded of other citizens." Those to whom such an address was made, might of course, with perfect justice, reply: "We have consulted your conscience in not requiring you to bear arms. But you are so unfortunate as to belong to a nation, the majority of which think a well-organized militia, an army, and a navy, essential to its security and well-being. You enjoy all the privileges of a citizen, and we only tax you for your proportion of what those privileges cost. If conscience will not let you pay the tax, the world is before you. Go and find, if you can, and, if you cannot find, establish a community, where there shall be neither fort nor arsenal, army nor navy; and when you are tired of leading a life of constant anxiety, alarm, and danger, we will cheerfully welcome you back to your full share of our privileges and our liabilities." And in like manner might our legislature say to those whom a tender conscience forbids to pay for the support of public worship: "We have consulted your conscience, in not requiring you to attend public worship unless you can do so conscientiously. But you live in a State, the majority of the inhabitants of which believe its maintenance essential to their welfare as citizens, — to the preservation of their social rights and the security of their property. As long as you remain a citizen of this commonwealth, you are therefore liable, *as a citizen*, not as a Christian, to be taxed for the support of public worship. If you cannot conscientiously pay this tax, the world is before you, — go, as the wise and good of former times have gone, — go into exile for conscience' sake. Go where the gospel has never been preached, where the Sabbath is unknown. And, when sad experience has convinced you, that, whether our religion be true or false, it is politically useful, we will gladly receive you back to the immunities and obligations of a State which the genius of Christianity protects."

- ART. VIII. — 1. *Plan of the Founder of Christianity*, by F. V. REINHARD, S. T. D., Court Preacher at Dresden. Translated from the Fifth German Edition, by OLIVER A. TAYLOR, A. M., Resident Licentiate, Theological Seminary, Andover. New York. G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1831. 12mo. pp. 359.
2. *Memoirs and Confessions of Francis Volkmar Reinhard*, S. T. D. &c. From the German. By OLIVER A. TAYLOR. Boston. Peirce & Parker, 1832. 12mo. pp. 164.

WE welcome with satisfaction whatever has a tendency to promote a commerce of mind among the nations, on the great topics of theological investigation. An acquaintance with the habits of thought, and the results obtained on these subjects, in different parts of the world, is of no slight importance to the Christian, and to the student of religion. It is neither salutary nor philosophical to shut up the mind within the bounds of our country, any more than within those of our sect. We should look abroad, and observe the opinions and forms of inquiry which men adopt, under institutions and influences quite diverse from our own, on the deeply interesting questions relating to the character and evidences of revelation, or the nature and bearings of divine truth. Christianity is indeed the mother tongue of all the nations who receive it; but it is well to be acquainted with the different forms in which it is spoken, and the different meanings which it is understood to convey. On this account, translations of valuable theological works, though generally deemed — but not always justly — a humbler kind of labor than original composition, should be thankfully received.

No one can doubt, we think, that the claims of Germany, on the theological inquirer, are of an interesting and important character. These claims have been sometimes, perhaps, exaggerated on the one hand, and depreciated on the other; but we believe, that both in this country and in England, a better acquaintance is producing a fairer estimate. German theology has been praised or condemned in the mass. Nothing can be more vague, than such general strictures or commendations. This manner of speaking of the religious investigations among any people is, for the most part, quite unsatisfactory, because it overlooks the varieties produced

by influences, that are continually changing. We may use an accurate designation when we speak of the theology of a sect; though even in this case, we must not forget that a sect, in the course of a few years, not unfrequently, differs from its former self nearly or quite as much, as from other denominations. But we cannot thus speak of nations, without talking loosely. Let any one consider, for instance, what is meant by *American theology*, and whether he can ascribe to it any thing like a general and uniform character, supposing the phrase to be used with reference either to modes of study, habits of thinking, or the results at which men arrive.

This indiscriminate language is peculiarly inapplicable to Germany; for there is perhaps no country in the world, whose theology it is so difficult to characterize as a whole, no country where there has been so much individual independence of inquiry, where all sorts of views have been thrown out so rapidly, and where speculations have multiplied, which are so utterly incapable of being brought under the commonly received classes of religious opinions. For the last fifty or seventy-five years, an intense mental activity has been in operation among the theological scholars of that nation, the course and the fruits of which well deserve the attention of every one who feels an interest in observing the striking varieties of theory and thought on the most momentous subjects, that can engage the human mind. We suppose that as students they are not equalled; and perhaps never have been, except by the laborious English scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Whether their studies have on the whole been well and wisely directed, whether they have manifested as much sound discretion as unwearied industry, is another question, but a question to which no one should give an unfavorable answer from hasty views, or without a due degree of investigation. Where so much has been done, of course a good deal has been weakly and inconsiderately done. But no one can rationally suppose that all this busy ardor has been in progress, without contributing a large amount of valuable and permanent treasure to the science of divinity. For a considerable time, the theologians of Germany were known to us almost solely as critical and exegetical scholars, as men who could with

praiseworthy learning settle various readings and make good lexicons, write voluminous commentaries and

—“chase

A panting syllable through time and space,  
Start it at home, and hunt it in the dark,  
To Gaul, to Greece, and into Noah's ark.”

This impression was quite unfavorable to their reputation in a country like ours, where such erudition has been comparatively but little prized, less certainly than it ought to be. But it is now well understood, that they have other and higher claims on our interest, and that while their country has produced some of the first philological scholars in the world, and many, doubtless, who, in Locke's expressive phrase, “made their understanding only the warehouse of other men's lumber,” yet these are not all whom it has produced and is continually producing. It has furnished more than its proportion of those who have discussed with unwearied labor and profound thought the lofty topics and the difficult questions, which religion presents on that side where she stands connected with philosophy. Whatever we may think of the results, however we may choose to call them obscure, romantic, or rash, still we must acknowledge that mind has been in powerful action there; and we wrong the cause of our own improvement, as well as pass an unjust judgment, when we set aside this mass of research and thought as unworthy of our attention. There is here an ample field for the curious inquirer; for nowhere has the influence of philosophy upon theology, in its various forms of good and evil, been more strikingly manifested. The transcendental doctrines of the Königsberg philosopher, for instance, shook the whole religious world of Germany, and sent forth the minds of men, with an ardor almost unexampled, on new tracks of speculation, so that no department of inquiry remained unaffected by it.\* With regard likewise to the history of Christianity, and of religion in general, it may be affirmed that no country has furnished such stores of ample, learned, and thorough labor, as Germany.

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\* The influence of the Kantian system on the several branches of theology, is exhibited in Flügel's *Versuch einer historisch-kritischen Darstellung des bisherigen Einflusses der Kantischen Philosophie, &c.* Hannover. 1796. This work, we believe, was never finished.

The name of Francis Volkmar Reinhard has gained a large share of respect among his countrymen, and by some of them is deemed a name of much celebrity. We are glad, therefore, to see specimens of his works presented in an English dress, and hope the labor may receive an encouraging reward. The Translator has perhaps overrated his merits and his fame, as a theologian. But his claims to high regard in this respect, and as a writer and a scholar, are certainly strong; and most of his productions may be considered as important contributions to the treasures, from which the religious or moral inquirer may derive much assistance and many materials for thought.

Reinhard lived at a period (from 1753 to 1812), when a very active and remarkable ferment of opinion and investigation in the religious world was going on in Germany. A strong reaction had taken place from the ascetic and narrow views, to which currency had been given by the school of Spener, a man of sincere and fervent piety doubtless, but weak and visionary in many of his notions. The various studies of sacred literature were pursued with an earnestness and depth of research, to which Europe perhaps affords no parallel. There seemed to be, as it were, a heaving and swelling of the religious mind of the nation. Every department of learning or of speculation in theology was not only opened, but had its crowd of cultivators. The press was prolific of learned productions, from the stitched program to the bulky quarto. Amidst the emulous restlessness resulting from this state of things, a sort of competition arose, which, while it was attended with the happy effect of laying open every source of knowledge, and compelling history, criticism, philosophy, and conjecture to yield all their offerings, produced in many instances a diseased love of the novel and the strange. It frequently seemed, as if he was deemed most gifted, and worthy to be admired, who could best garnish a new theory, or push some adventurous speculation beyond its former limits. This ceaseless industry of research and of system-building, sometimes wisely and ably directed, sometimes running wild or working at random, made it at once more difficult, and with many less creditable, to submit to that control of sound and cautious judgment, which is of indispensable necessity in investigating the solemn and lofty questions of religion. We would, therefore, give all praise

to the mental sobriety and moral independence of Reinhard, at such a period, as that in which he lived. He evidently took his stand for himself, and cared not if he were reproached with theological prudery. There is a tone of manly and earnest sincerity in his character, which we cannot but respect. The influences of early life had prepared him to come to the study of religion, not as the task-work of ingenuity, nor as the refined recreation of a restless intellect, but with a feeling that the truth of God is a reality, which carries a meaning of everlasting consequence to man. He was at once a cautious though enlightened inquirer, and a fearless though charitable assertor of his belief.

We do not remember that he has, in any of his writings, presented his views of Christian doctrines in a connected or definite form; and it may not be easy, as it certainly is not important, to say in what division of Christian believers the disputers of the day would assign his place. Even in the ninth letter of the Confessions, the vindictory remarks about his own faith have not precision enough to give him a location within the limits of any particular creed. Indeed they are so general, that there is scarcely a professed disciple of Jesus, who might not adopt them. We should be somewhat surprised at the readiness, with which our Orthodox friends seem to have taken it for granted that he was such a man as would here be esteemed one of them, because he avowed himself a Scriptural Christian, had we not observed the same procedure in other cases. It would appear to be a sort of rule with them, that the German theologian who is not a Naturalist or a Rationalist, having no other claimant, must be theirs. But in truth the forms of religious opinion and inquiry in that country are so different from our own, that our terms of distinction are in a great degree inapplicable, until new definitions of them be given. It is hard for those, who are accustomed to walk only within certain allotted and fenced enclosures in the religious world, to realize the state of things in a country where the usual boundary lines of sects and parties have been broken up to a great extent, and each man has thought and published what seemed right in his own eyes, insomuch that a mixture of views has been found in the same individual, which must seem like strange confusion to such as are in the habit of thinking that every man of course belongs to some clan,

whom he may on no points desert, or is shut within some hedge, which he may on no occasion overleap. Orthodox and Liberal, in the sense assigned to the words among us, are not descriptive in any accurate way of classes among the theologians of Germany. What is here sometimes eagerly claimed as the Orthodoxy of that country is, in general, either mere mystification, or is found in combination with opinions and speculations, that among us would be deemed bold heresy. We do not think it a question of much importance to be settled, to what division of the Christian world Reinhard should be assigned. It is enough that he was an evangelical man, a pious disciple of the Saviour, and a lover of Divine truth. But when we read such passages as the following in the "Plan of the Founder of Christianity," we cannot refrain from asking whether, had they appeared in a book written and published among us, they would have been deemed by a large part of our religious public to indicate entire conformity to the standard of sound faith.

"Fathers are very forbearing towards the faults of their children, and ready to forgive them as soon as they discover signs of reformation. Jesus gave a most exalted description of the love of the Supreme Father in this respect, his reconcilableness and willingness to forgive sin, and the anticipating kindness with which he meets all who repent and amend. Luke xv. 1-32. Matth. xviii. 21-35. John iii. 16, 17. Of course, this took away all need of *expiatory sacrifices*, solemn purifications, painful courses of penance, and the various means which had thus far been resorted to for appeasing the incensed Deity, and averting the punishment of sin, and exhibited them in the light of base superstitions." — p. 47.

With regard to Reinhard's Sermons, the translator of the works now before us has betrayed some misgivings, by requesting the reader, "constantly to remember the 'palliating circumstances under which these sermons were written and delivered, if he feels inclined to complain of the difference between them and some of our revival sermons.'"

The education of Reinhard was well adapted to refine and elevate the moral sentiment, and to create a quick susceptibility to good influences. His first fifteen years were passed under the tuition of his father, a clergyman at Vohenstrauß, whose discourses and whose favorite studies were such as to form his pupil to habits of accurate discrimination, and to



inspire him with a taste for the ancients. The son had early felt a strong inclination to devote himself to the pulpit. But his bodily weakness, for several years, seemed to render his wishes in this respect hopeless; and it was not till he made an experiment in preaching, while at the University of Wittenberg, and found himself able to sustain the exertion, that he resolved to undertake the peculiar studies and the duties of the ministry. Meanwhile, during his youth his mind had been fed with pure and stimulating influences. The Bible was his constant and favorite reading; and his interest in the sacred volume was increased by the conversations and explanations of his father. He took great delight in the poetry of Haller and Klopstock. In their writings, we may believe, he found nutriment for that healthful excitement of the imagination, which gives warmth and tenderness to the religious sentiment. To these was joined the assiduous and hearty study of the ancient classics. Thus the foundations of his inward being were laid amidst salutary and strengthening influences, and his mind was prepared to send forth its powers in those extensive studies and various labors, to which he was called as professor of theology and teacher of philosophy at Wittenberg, and as court preacher at Dresden. His literary industry in these situations would be deemed very extraordinary in our country, where so little uninterrupted time is usually given to the pursuits of the scholar, but would probably excite little surprise in Germany, where it has been remarked (we believe by Madame de Staël) that men think it a very natural mode of existence to spend fifteen or sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, during a long life, in close and hard study.

Reinhard is probably better known out of his own country, as a sermon-writer, than by his other labors. Our readers will, we doubt not, be astonished at his productive power in this department, when they learn that the collection of his Sermons, in the whole, forms thirty-nine volumes. These were published between 1786 and 1813, the first two volumes comprising the sermons delivered at Wittenberg, and the last four being posthumous and published under the care of his colleague Hacker. After 1795 he published every year the discourses he had preached during the preceding year. This collection constitutes, probably, the largest amount of sermons ever published by an individual. The wonder is

not that he preached so many sermons, — for most clergymen among us, in a ministry of equal length, preach at least as many, — but that such a multitude of discourses for the pulpit should have been produced in a state of preparation for the press, or at least in what the preacher conceived to be such. Our readers may remember, perhaps, that a specimen of Reinhard's sermons was given, some years since, in "The Christian Disciple,"\* adapted certainly to leave a favorable impression with regard to their merits. From such of them as we have had opportunity to examine, we should think that they deserve an honorable place among the models of pulpit eloquence, though in so large a mass there must of course be many, which will seem to have had but a slender claim to be published. The critics have reproached them with the fault of stiffness and apparent constraint, arising from a too formal distribution of the materials, and from an excessive taste for symmetry of division. But they are generally written in a fine spirit of fervent piety and true candor, more than sufficient to redeem their faults; and many of them are marked with veins of sound, discriminating, and happy trains of thought. The German pulpit has, however, furnished discourses in some respects superior to these. Among the sermons of Zollikofer, Marezoll, and Dräseke, there are those to which, for intellectual power though not for unction, we should assign a higher place than to any of Reinhard.

The great work of Reinhard, upon which his best fame must rest, is undoubtedly his *System der christlichen Moral*, or "System of Christian Ethics." The first two volumes of this important work were published at Wittemberg in 1788 and 1789, the third in 1804, the fourth in 1810, and the fifth three years after the author's death. During the progress of these editions, some parts were considerably augmented, and in a measure wrought over anew. The undertaking was one of great magnitude and extent; and the execution of it, though exposed to some of the censures passed upon it by the German reviewers, was certainly such as to do great honor to the author's various learning, depth of thought, and moral taste. It presents a survey of the characteristic superiority of Christian morality over that of

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\* New Series, Vol. V. p. 100.

the ancient philosophers, of the relations in which it stands to the faculties of man as the discipline appointed by Heaven for the maturity and perfection of his nature, as designed to develope and carry to their highest improvement the great and noble tendencies of the human constitution; traces the character of the accomplished Christian in his relations to God and to his fellow-men; and enumerates the means fitted to guide us in the path, which conducts man to the elevated objects thus described. The various topics embraced by these extensive and very important views are discussed with much completeness, with the necessary learning, with a spirit worthy of the lofty theme, and in a style distinguished by strength, clearness, and precision. The author consulted with diligent care the eminent moralists of ancient and modern times, especially those of Greece and Rome; and from his examination of their views drew illustrations and conclusions in support of his general purpose. His accurate and searching acquaintance with philosophy enabled him to enrich his work with contributions from the moral history of man, and from intellectual science; and the arrangement of the whole proves that his mind was not confused by the vast field opened before him in this investigation.

It has been mentioned, as an evidence of the little attention at first excited by those writings of Kant, which were destined afterwards to operate so powerfully on the moral and theological speculations of Germany, that although some of the most remarkable productions of that philosopher were printed four or five years before Reinhard began the publication of his *Christian Ethics*, yet the latter made no reference to them in the first editions of his work. In subsequent editions, however, he enters into a somewhat elaborate consideration of the new philosophy; and while he acknowledges his obligations to it for the suggestion of some important views, by which he was enabled to produce improvements and supply deficiencies in his own work, he exposes with freedom and ability its difficulties, defects, and pernicious tendencies.\* Reinhard describes the distinguishing trait of the Christian system of morals as consisting in a divine adaptation of means to promote the perfection of man, that is, to develope and cultivate all the powers of man's nature,

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\* Stäudlin's *Geschichte der christlichen Moral*, pp. 780 and 797.

and to be the instrument of the most perfect education of the human race. This he regards as the highest principle of the *Morale* of Christianity; and in this it far excels any philosophical system. He appeals to the fact, that Jesus Christ exhibited an example of the highest form of that moral resemblance to God, which he has set before his followers as the object of their most spiritual aspirations, and that God is described as training man, by the divine tuition of the Gospel, to the great purposes of his everlasting existence.\* On the whole, the "System of Christian Ethics" must be regarded as a very valuable contribution to the moral philosophy of theology. It is considered, we believe, in Germany, where several treatises of a kindred character have appeared, as having effected more in this department, than any other single work. In our language we are acquainted with nothing on the subject which can be compared with this. Indeed, the morality of Christianity, as an object of philosophical investigation, has been lamentably neglected in English theology. The remarks of Soame Jenyns and of Paley, in their books on the Evidences, fall far short of what is wanted on the subject, and are not perfectly accurate as far as they go. Dewar's "Elements of Moral Philosophy and of Christian Ethics;" is an ordinary work, and is continually running into questions aside from the purpose. We know of no English treatise better, in the main, than Penrose's "Inquiry into the Nature and Discipline of Human Motives"; but the value of this work is much diminished by a want of distinctness and perspicuity, and it does by no means grasp the subject in all its dimensions.

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\* Stäudlin (in the work before referred to, p. 782, and in his *Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften*, Vol. II. p. 628) calls this *the perfection principle*. Stapfer, the author of the article on Reinhard in the *Biographie Universelle*, has the following criticism on the Christian Ethics, for which perhaps there is good reason: "Peut-être Reinhard a-t-il accordé une trop grande importance aux pouvoirs intellectuels de l'homme dans l'œuvre de sa régénération. Ce n'est pas aussi sans quelques inconvénients, dignes d'attention, qu'il lui impose pour loi suprême un perfectionnement indéfini et harmonique de toutes ses facultés, difficile à réaliser par des efforts raisonnés et graduels. Le principe fondamental qu'il adopte, manque de simplicité. L'idéal de perfection, qu'il propose à notre imitation, est un guide moins sûr que les préceptes du Sauveur, et n'a qu'une fécondité apparente."

The "Plan of the Founder of Christianity" (or, to give the title fully in conformity with the original, "Essay on the Plan which the Founder of Christianity projected for the Good of Man; a Contribution to the Evidences for the Truth of that Religion") has gained no small share of celebrity on the continent of Europe, as an attractive treatise in apologetic theology, but has been comparatively little known in England or in this country. The germ of this Essay is found in one of Reinhard's Latin dissertations.\* In this work, the object of which is happily conceived and well accomplished, the author considers Jesus Christ simply in the character of a benefactor to the human race by means of the design, which he formed and unfolded in his religion, for the universal good of mankind; and in this character, he finds a token, or evidence, of his divine mission and qualifications. He first gives a sketch of the nature and compass of our Saviour's plan, and shows that it was his intention to establish a spiritual kingdom for the benefit of all mankind, that is, *universal* in the strictest sense of the word. This universality, he maintains, was in the purpose of Christ from the first, and not merely an unpremeditated consequence. His next object is to prove that, before the appearance of Jesus, no benefactor of man, no philosopher, legislator, or king, had ever conceived a plan which could in any just sense be called universal, or a mode of doing good to the whole human race; their projects of reform or improvement were all national, or partial and limited. After having given the evidence on these two points in detail, the author proceeds to deduce the inference, that Jesus Christ was "an extraordinary man and a teacher sent from God." These are the heads of this Essay. As a whole, it deserves the praise of being well arranged and well connected, rich in thought, and breathing a fine moral spirit. The illustrations of various topics scattered through the body

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\* The title of this dissertation is, *Consilium bene merendi de universo humano genere ingenii supra hominem elati documentum*. It is in the first volume of the *Opuscula Academica* of Reinhard, which are a collection of his programs and occasional pieces, gathered and edited by Poelitz. One of these is entitled *De vi, quâ res parvæ afficiunt animum, in doctrinâ de moribus diligentius explicandâ*; and of this, in its separate form, the oracular Dr. Parr says, "In my Library there are few books I value more than this work of Reinhard." *Bibliotheca Parriana*, p. 452.

of the work, the views of our Saviour's instructions, and the comparison in which he is placed with the sages and great men of antiquity, are exceedingly well adapted either to satisfy an inquiring mind, or to open before it a train of investigation in which it may find satisfaction. The statements are not always precise and accurate; and we have to complain of an occasional carelessness of expression, or looseness of reasoning, which has a tendency to weaken the effect of the general argument. But the religious student, and the lover of Christianity, will not fail to derive from the book impressive views of the exalted character of Christ and of the Gospel.

This work owes its origin to the publication of the notorious Wolfenbüttel Fragments, as they are called, of which the Translator has given a particular account in his Preface. These writings gave rise to a controversy of much fame in Germany; and the train of skepticism, which they opened, was continued by Bahrdr and others. They contained attacks, much more virulent than able, on the Scriptures and on Christianity, which speedily elicited numerous answers, and led the way to an extensive and animated discussion.\* It was principally the last of these Fragments, "respecting the object of Jesus and his disciples," which induced Reinhard to take up the subject, and prepare in its first form the work now before us. In subsequent editions he enlarged the discussion by notices of some of the wild skeptical writings, which followed in the track of the Fragments.

The fundamental principle of the view, which Reinhard took in this Essay, was not new. It had been in substance stated by Eusebius in what Münscher calls one of the finest remains of ancient apologetic theology; † and Hartley, in the thirty-seventh Proposition of his chapter on the Truth of

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\* One of the most distinguished of the works produced on this occasion was Semler's *Beantwortung der Fragmente eines Ungenannten, insbesondere vom Zwecke Jesu und seiner Jünger*. Halle, 1779.

† *Handbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. III. p. 246. Bishop Porteus, in his Sermon on "the Character of our Lord," &c. from Matth. xxvii. 54, alludes to the same topic of argument, when he says, "How astonishing, and from what source inspired, must the mind of that man be, who could entertain so vast a thought in so low a condition, as that of instructing and reforming a whole world," &c. This sermon, Dr Beattie says, was the means of recovering from infidelity an intelligent gentleman of his acquaintance. Forbes's *Life of Beattie*, p. 423.

the Christian Religion, had glanced at the same argument. The view presented by these considerations is certainly a very striking one. That the Founder of Christianity, under circumstances the most discouraging, with nothing to favor and every thing to oppose his plan, and surrounded by men who could not at first even understand its principles, should have risen to the sublime conception of an universal spiritual kingdom for man as such, wherever found and in whatever circumstances, — an idea to which none of the wise and good men before him, in situations apparently far more auspicious, had ever attained, — all this constitutes a strong presumption, at least, that the finger of God was there. It cannot be said, we think, to furnish a proof that Jesus was a teacher sent from God ; but it affords a high moral probability, the force of which will be felt the more powerfully, in proportion as we penetrate more deeply into the genuine spirit of Christianity, and apprehend more truly its spiritual character and bearings ; for this is one of those arguments, the efficacy of which upon any individual must depend much on his moral taste and feelings, since it presupposes the capacity for perceiving the peculiar sublimity of a great spiritual design. Reinhard himself does not insist upon it as an incontestable proof of the divine origin of Christianity, but thinks it will not have been adduced in vain, if it shall present cogent reasons to induce the opposers of the Gospel to treat the claims of Jesus at least as reasonably and respectfully as those of the great men of antiquity, and thus to prepare their minds for an impartial investigation of the other stronger evidences, which establish the Christian's faith in the divinity of his religion. The Appendix to the translation of Reinhard's Essay contains some valuable remarks, adapted to strengthen the argument and to obviate objections.

There is however a point of view, in which we regard this argument as peculiarly important. We mean, that it conducts the mind at once to the most just and elevated conception it can form of the object of our Saviour's mission. It stands in harmony with that memorable declaration of Jesus himself to the Roman governor, — " To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth." When we say that it was his plan to found an universal spiritual kingdom, we say, in other words,

that it was the purpose of his ministry to establish divine truth in the world on a foundation laid by the power of God, and to send it abroad as the general, unrestricted possession and inheritance of man. And if we consider the matter aright, no consideration supplies so exalted a view of the Saviour's office as this. The distinguishing glory of Jesus Christ consists in its being that highest form of moral glory, which belongs to one who was the chosen medium of the light of Heaven's wisdom to a world wandering in darkness and sin. All the trappings, thrown around the subject by the ingenuity of dogmatical theology, are but poor things, compared with the greatness of this view. Men are not often aware how much meaning there is in their words, when they speak of the universal moral kingdom of Christ. A single spiritual truth possesses more true glory, than all the loftiest works, all the proudest achievements, of that skill or force which is commonly called power. The moral energy which aims to enthrone itself in the heart, and to bring the soul under the sway of sanctifying influences, carries within itself a vitality that outlasts and triumphs over the most splendid forms of outward things. We gaze on the exhibitions of glory, as it is deemed, in the history of our race with a feeling of confused admiration, resembling that excited by the successive scenes of a brilliant, artificial show, as they pass before us; we are fascinated with the pictures which one after another rise and vanish; and meanwhile we forget that out of sight, except to those who will look attentively, there is a glory which holds on silently and eternally while all this pageantry passes away,—the glory of moral and spiritual truth, the power that lives and works in the interior of man's being, and compared with which marble and brass are frail things. In the dominion of Cæsar, stretching from the Capitol at home over barbarous nations at the extremities of the earth, where is the greatness like that of an influence which sways the heart of man to goodness, and pours upon his mind the light of a better world? There is a power, whose story is not told by monuments, nor its triumphs marked by trophies gathered from the spoils of battle,—things upon which time tramples without mercy and without respect; and this enduring, life-giving efficacy is found in the empire of truth and goodness established by the Son of God among mankind, which leaves its signatures on the



spirit of man, and gains its conquests over sin. It has descended from mind to mind, and from soul to soul, since Jesus Christ first cast it abroad on the earth; it has kindled from heart to heart, and sent forth its illumination from one spirit to another, as the generations of men have pressed onward in their ceaseless course. We speak of it here purely as a spiritual principle; for as to the use which has been made of Christianity from time to time, by the corrupt and the ambitious to fortify their rule, to subserve their pride, to give a mock sanctity to the triumphs of brute force, or to bind more strongly the yoke of oppression on the neck of subject man, — all this, we need scarcely say, has been not only foreign but opposed to its nature; and the monuments, which in such a service it has been compelled to build, have been as poor and sometimes as frail, as those more appropriately belonging to the tyrant or the warrior. But such miserable abuses have only proved that God cannot bestow a gift, which man may not pervert. They have not dislodged or extinguished the moral power that belongs to the heavenly system, and that will not fail to manifest its activity as soon as the pressure is removed. This has a glory, which has brightened and spread from age to age. When kingdoms have been overturned, this has stood firm; when nations have changed masters, this has remained the same; when the temples, in which outward services were performed, have been levelled with the dust, this has still had its temple in the spirit of man. It has linked itself with religious institutions and religious solemnities, that lie deep in the structure of society. The usages by which the Founder of Christianity is honored throughout the Christian world; the consecration of the child or the adult in baptism, the memorial which calls Christians to break bread in remembrance of him, who gave to man the true bread from heaven, — what would these be but for the moral meaning they convey, but for the token they give that the Gospel has formed the rallying point of the everlasting hopes of man, since its truths were first announced by the Great Teacher on the plains of Judea?

The leading proposition of Reinhard's work, considered as describing the great purpose of the Saviour's appearance in the world, has therefore a meaning which we are delighted to recognise under any form. It fixes our attention on the

interior power of unsophisticated Christianity, regarded as the direct expression of the mind and purpose of Jesus Christ. That plan, which he projected for the universal good of man, is developed in the diffusion of the truth sanctioned by God, — truth in that form and in those applications by which it is endowed with energy from on high for the intellect, the heart, and the conscience of an immortal being. We are so much accustomed to think and speak of Christianity as a matter of institutions, as an outward form which religion has taken because it must have a form, or as a scheme of articles on which some church or some establishment has chosen to organize itself into a distinct body, that it is difficult for us to apprehend it simply as the voice of truth, or rather of truths, speaking to man, wherever it finds him, what it greatly behoves him to know as the child of God, and as the heir of an everlasting existence. That this is its true essence, the highest character in which it can be represented, is evident from the fact, that to give it forth as such to mankind was the central point of the mission and agency of Him, who came in his Father's name to shed abroad the light of heaven on a world lying in darkness and sin. When we look at the religion of Jesus, invested in the forms of faith, — the drapery and costume, so to speak, — which men have thrown around it, we are apt to forget that the Christianity which he left on earth did not consist in these, and that he did not legislate in such things. They may be more or less useful and important according to the circumstances, habits, and feelings of men; but they were not in the plan of the Founder; they never dwelt in his mind, or lay near his heart; of them he never would have said, — To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I might build up and establish these things. No; he looked deeper, wider, and higher than this. His soul was full and glowing with the truth that came from God; and he was sent of the Father to give that truth an abode and home on the earth, as the possession and the blessing of man, without distinction of country, time, or condition. In this consisted the spiritual, the universal kingdom of the Saviour. One of the ancient Fathers affirms somewhat quaintly, that the angels have no need of books, and that they read by seeing God who is the light of their understandings. There is a good meaning in this, however fancifully

expressed. Now the institution of Jesus Christ contains for man the seminal principles of this exalted condition of moral knowledge and moral purity. It is the training for that state, in which the soul shall pass into higher degrees of divine wisdom. And this it is by reason of its being the channel of that spiritual truth, which is at once the aliment and the sanctifier of the human soul. It is thus that it becomes a universal dispensation, by regarding man only in the character which belongs to him as such, wherever he exists. It is thus that it becomes the common possession of the race, and forms a brotherhood of the human family. We may emphatically apply to it what a writer, who deserves not the neglect into which he has fallen, has said in another connexion; "Truth is no man's property or inclosure, but a common and public benefit. She dwells indeed in every man, and has an oracle in every breast, but is confined to no man, nor to any place or time, but is always and every where intelligible and to every one, as being at once a secret and a public light, as St. Austin speaks. That truth which I contemplate is not mine, since another may contemplate it as well as I, and that truth which another contemplates is not his, since I may contemplate it as well as he. Yea, we shall see the same truths; and though *mine* and *thine* be a necessary distinction in the enjoyment of lesser goods, which cannot be communicated at once to many, yet we enjoy the greatest blessings of all in common, and there is no division of truth, though there be of the languages wherein we express it. The curse that multiplied the latter, has left the former still one, simple, and entire; and though there is such a national variety in tongues, yet in the retirements of the mind there is more conformity, since the truth that dwells there is neither Hebrew, nor Greek, nor Latin, nor barbarous, but speaks one simple, uniform, and universal language, and such as is intelligible to the whole world." \*

In the "Memoirs and Confessions" of Reinhard (or, as the original title of the first part of the book is, "Confessions concerning his Sermons, and his Education as a Preacher, in Letters to a Friend"), we have an interesting account of his preparation and discipline for the office of preaching, in which he became so distinguished, of some of his opin-

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\* Norris's *Theory of the Ideal World*, Vol. I. p. 435.

ions on this subject, of his course of study from childhood, the difficulties he encountered and overcame, his mistakes, and his labors. A work of this kind, coming from a man who had given so much time and thought to the duties of the pulpit, and had attained so decided a character of excellence in that department, must have strong claims on our attention. It is a task of great difficulty for a man to speak gracefully and properly of himself. Reinhard has done this with uncommon felicity and success. He writes to his friend like one, who in all honesty and good faith endeavours to lay open the history of his own mind, simply for the sake of doing good. Without any of the foolish affectation of lowliness, he speaks of his own faults, errors, and defects with an evident desire to benefit others by his experience. There are in these Letters marks, not to be mistaken, of a fair and upright mind, which never lost the power of righting itself from the effects of erroneous partialities, and never submitted to narrow and enslaving prejudices. An instance of this we have in the writer's mention of the Crusian philosophy, to which he had been at one time zealously addicted, but the weak points of which he failed not to perceive and acknowledge in the further progress of his studies. He then began to understand, he says, "that every system contains something true and good, that in every one human reason exhibits itself in some peculiar way, and hence that every one is deserving of investigation and respect;" — a noble idea, which Cousin has opened and illustrated at considerable length in the finest spirit of philosophical thought.

This little work possesses the attraction, which always belongs to a good history of an individual mind, — the exhibition of the inner man of a distinguished personage, when set forth with clearness, fidelity, and good sense. It has not only the interest of a portrait, but shows us moreover how the features were formed to their peculiarities of expression. To the theological student it may furnish many important hints, for the culture demanded by his duties as a religious teacher. But these Letters, on account of their narrative form and the personal bearing of the remarks, contain much less of systematic and connected discussion of principles, than may be found in many other works, both English and German, on homiletic theology. For well arranged thoughts, and large and thorough views, they are inferior to Marezoll's

essay *Ueber die Bestimmung des Kanzelredners*. To the Letters the Translator has added Memoirs gathered principally from Böttiger's *Delineation of Reinhard*, which increase the value and interest of the volume.

From this book the student may learn to form some adequate conception of the compass and character of theological education. We fear it is seldom contemplated in all its greatness and extent. It is the fashion of the day to talk so much about the duty of active usefulness in the ministry, that we apprehend there is a tendency to overlook the importance of that sound and deeply laid preparation, which alone enables men to be active to much purpose, or useful in the highest and best degree. Almost every thing in this country is done in haste; and we are apt to contract that habit of seizing upon such knowledge as may be caught in passing, which, to say the least of it, is unfavorable to the patient thought demanded by the very nature of the vast subjects presented by religion. If it be said that such a preparation as that, through which Reinhard passed, must necessarily be confined to a very few, and that such a standard is too high to be generally useful, we reply that it is an old and just remark, that the higher the standard, the greater the amount of attainments will probably be. At least we feel justified in saying, that the importance of an extensive and solid foundation for clerical labors can scarcely be overrated. No one, we think, can survey the field of theological study and duty without being convinced, not only that it affords an employment for the most strenuous diligence of a whole life, but that no single portion of it can be turned to good account without systematic and habitual industry of mind. The great questions relating to God, to man's nature, duty, and immortality, are so multiplied and extensive in their relations, so connected with all the most important topics which belong to earth or heaven, that he must have formed a poor conception of the meaning that lies within them, who can suppose a slight or hasty discipline to be sufficient for these things. The history of religion, taken in all its bearings, is a subject almost inexhaustibly rich. In the investigation of the books of the Scriptures, so different in their character, written at such diverse periods, and under circumstances so various, there is scarcely any kind of knowledge or inquiry, that may not be brought into use happily and efficiently; and, if our

religion be indeed the pearl of great price, he who is set for its defence should labor with a diligence, which no difficulty can discourage, to discover all its value, and to exhibit it in all its brightness. We think that there is much too in natural science, which demands the attention of the theologian, even as a professional man. The striking and curious facts, the various laws and principles, which the investigations of naturalists have developed, may be used with no little edification in some parts of a long course of religious teaching; and a congregation may be brought to see that religion touches upon and illuminates all things around them, that creation acquires a new meaning when viewed in the beautiful and holy lights shed upon it by piety, and that the works of God, as well as his word, have most affecting lessons for the soul of man. Let him who is devoted to the ministry once come to an adequate view of the nature of his work, and he will never doubt that, if he would be any thing better than a sluggish and ineffectual repeater of worn-out sayings, he must task and brighten his powers by the love of study, and by habits of enlarged thought; he will not rest satisfied with the stock of knowledge or the views which he took with him to his ordination, as if these were materials sufficient to work with for his whole ministry, but will feel that his education as a theologian has but just been begun, and that he has entered on a career where the duty of self-tuition and of onward spiritual movement, in all its parts, is to be strenuously discharged under a feeling of solemn responsibility to his God and his Saviour; he will gather up the energies of his soul, and consecrate them to a labor, which he will be persuaded no one can execute well, who brings to it an unfurnished or undisciplined mind. We should deeply regret to see the standard of clerical qualifications lowered among us by the supposed necessity of immediate popular effect, or by that restless and hurried state of mind which the religious struggles of the day are apt to produce.

With faculties thus prepared, and with a heart imbued with the love of God and of truth, the preacher can scarcely fail to impart the instructions of religion with energy and good effect. He, who speaks from a full mind and with true feeling, must speak impressively. Scarcely any thing else, indeed, is necessary for this purpose. We hear much of the importance of manner to the effect of pulpit eloquence;

and there is a great deal of truth in such statements. But then it is difficult, if not impossible, by any rules to define a good manner. It is so much an individual matter, that what is best for one may be worst for another. Every body, we presume, has observed instances in which preaching has effected the only important object of public speaking,—that of leaving warm and deep impressions on the hearer's soul,—but in which at the same time every rule of rhetoric has been neglected or utterly violated. We do not mean that the precepts of the schools on this subject are of no value. But we believe that a mind fraught with clear and strong views, and a heart warm with the feelings of true piety, will, if these be allowed to come out naturally, produce a manner which in all important respects will be best for the individual, though doubtless it may be susceptible of improvement by the right sort of culture. No eloquence can be worth much,—none indeed deserves the name,—which is not founded in good sense. Horace has told us with regard to good writing—“*Sapere est et principium et fons*”; and it is equally true of eloquence, which, in its best, its only worthy sense, is a gift not to be gained by random or noisy efforts. It is missed no less by affected vehemence, than by lazy dulness; no less by sounding words and violent gesticulation, than by coldness and statue-like apathy. If they know nothing of it, who read empty discourses on trite topics of morality as a school-boy reads his lesson, they on the other hand know as little of it, who deal out regularly a certain quantity of angry, common-place denunciation against the sinner, and of incoherent assurance or promise to the saint, or who,—to adopt the Scottish phrase,—“tell ower a clash o’ terror and a clatter o’ comfort in their sermons, without ony sense, or savour, or life.” No one can doubt that, so far as manner is concerned, Whitefield was a most powerful speaker, that he shook the nerves and often the hearts of his hearers, and produced sudden and striking effects, which were of a nature to make a great figure in the stories of popular tradition, and caused the community to ring with his name at the time. Yet how very decisively are his discourses, in their printed form, inferior to those of John Wesley in good sense, in sound thought, in true feeling, in all indeed which constitutes the staple of genuine eloquence; and how much more extensive

and lasting in the religious world has been the influence of Wesley's calm strength of mind, than that of the vehement flashing of his brilliant contemporary. There is sometimes a happy union of rude but unaffected energy with plain and momentous truth, — a combination of that ardent feeling which bears the hearer forward in its strong rush, yet offers him no violence, with the unforced and simple movements of the heart on the great topics of religion. In this species of excellence no one, we are inclined to think, has surpassed M. Bridaine, the celebrated French preacher.\*

Let the preacher, then, carry to his work a mind strongly built up and well furnished, a heart penetrated with some adequate sense of the everlasting power of spiritual truth, a conviction that he is called to do his part in one of the greatest agencies which God has appointed man to exert on his fellow-men; let him cherish large and generous views, far above the hot and vaporous region of sectarian strife, and a true love of doing good by advancing the cause of spiritual improvement; let him remember that he comes with the word of life to beings, who have an eternal interest at stake in the truths he shall utter; under such impressions let him pour out his heart naturally and freely, — and he will be an effective speaker for every valuable purpose, — he will in fact be eloquent, though criticism may have no compliments for him. There is a difference between the admired speaker and the really eloquent preacher; for the saying of one of the ancient orators was wise and true, — “If you have leisure to praise me, I speak to no purpose.”

From “The Memoirs and Confessions” of Reinhard some excellent hints may be drawn for the formation of a true taste on this subject. The translation of this book and of “The Plan of the Founder of Christianity,” as far as we have compared it with the original, is faithful to the author's meaning. It has some faults of language; the expressions are not unfrequently careless and ill chosen; and there is a general want of neatness and precision in the style. The

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\* An interesting account of this extraordinary man is given by Cardinal Maury in his “*Essai sur l'Eloquence de la Chaire*,” Tome I. p. 85. — an excellent work which, we believe, is not so much known and read among us as it deserves to be.



notes, additions, and illustrations are for the most part valuable, and indicate a spirit of research highly praiseworthy. We cordially express our acknowledgments of the service the translator has rendered, by introducing these works and their excellent author to our religious public.

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ART. IX. — *Indian Biography: or an Historical Account of those Individuals who have been distinguished among the North American Natives, as Orators, Warriors, Statesmen, and other Remarkable Characters.* By B. B. THATCHER, Esq. In 2 vols. New-York. J. & J. Harper. 1832. 18mo. pp. 324 and 319.

THOUGH there is no department of history that ought to interest the descendants of the "pilgrim fathers" more than that which treats of the unfortunate race of whose domains they are in present possession, there is none that has been so much neglected. There is no lack of Indian histories, indeed, such as they are; but we may safely say that no reader can form a distinct idea of the history of any tribe from any one of them. It is only by attentively studying the histories of the several states, Hubbard, Mather, and countless other authorities, and by laboriously comparing them, that we can learn any thing of the Powhatans, the Six Nations, or any of the great Indian confederacies. It is true, we all know that certain persons called Tecumseh, Pontiac, and Metacom have lived, opposed the whites, and died, but that is all. Not one in fifty, even of the better informed classes, can tell when and where these distinguished men were born, to what tribes they belonged, or what were the prominent points in their history. Warriors as brave, orators and statesmen as wise and eloquent, as any recorded by Homer, have but lately figured in the land we inhabit; their bones have not yet been resolved into their native dust, and their words and deeds remain without a record; or if, indeed, they have been recorded, it has been in such a manner as has increased the obscurity fast gathering around the memories of the forest kings. In these circumstances

we acknowledge an obligation to Mr. Thatcher. He has ably filled a hiatus in American history, by collecting and arranging all that is worth remembering of those whom we have displaced.

We would not say that this "Indian Biography" has no faults; but as, in noticing a work of no merit or improper tendency, it is a duty to point out these and dwell upon them, so in a performance of talent and utility, it is a pleasure to show the small proportion they bear to its good qualities. While we say that the book before us has some pages which resemble a critical disquisition more than was needful to render them amusing, we are free to acknowledge that there was no possible way, in such instances, to come at the positive truth. By selecting his preferred authorities, and adopting their conclusions, the author might have misled his readers. His best course, and that which he has followed, was to give all versions of the story, so that the reader might judge for himself.

We also object to the too liberal application of titles to Indian chiefs; but this is a defect common to all preceding historians. We think that petty rulers of petty communities should not be called kings and emperors. These titles are associated with ideas of regal pomp and power which no Indian dignitaries, save those of Mexico and the Incas, ever enjoyed. We observe, too, that some of the Western chiefs are called *Sachems*, an appellation by which they were never known to their followers or to the whites. These, as well as a few other inaccuracies, are, indeed, but trifling errors; and we mention them rather in the hope of seeing them amended in a future edition, than with a view of detracting from the estimation in which the work will be held.

The two volumes, of which it consists, form the forty-fifth and forty-sixth numbers of Harpers' "Family Library." We consider them, to say the least, not inferior to any part of that series. They make a component, indispensable part of our history, which has never been fully brought forward before. The characters they commemorate were not inferior, in all that constitutes true nobility, to the worthies of the heroic ages. They exercised a powerful influence on matters in which we are intimately concerned, and that influence has not yet ceased to be felt. There is scarce a township in New England that does not contain some memorial of their

greatness. It may not be matter of regret that their noble qualities availed them not ; we may rejoice that their patriotism and valor had no effect ; we may, perhaps, feel no sorrow that their race has wasted utterly away ; but while we enjoy the fatness of the land they left us, and remember how it was acquired, we are bound to preserve some record of their names, their actions, and their misfortunes.

The first volume contains the history of the Virginia and New England Indians, and proves that history, if it shows forth examples, does not "teach by example." From Sassacus to Black Hawk, the Americans have played one and the same game with the Indians. It is a sad philosophy which thus teaches to exterminate and not to save. The first volume of this "Biography" tells a melancholy tale. Of all the great men therein celebrated, two only did not suffer by their proximity to our fathers. Massasoit escaped, probably because they were not strong enough to injure him, as did the Mohegan Ulysses, Uncas, by being the instrument of the wrongs they did to others. What is the story of the rest ? The Pequods, a nation of four thousand warriors, feared and respected by all their neighbours, were exterminated on slight and doubtful provocation. Their chief, Sassacus, "all over one god," as the savages styled him, was driven into exile, and ruthlessly slaughtered to give the colonists pleasure. Alexander, son of the chief who succoured and protected them in their utmost need, they apprehended and treated with great indignity on a mere suspicion ; and this unworthy treatment occasioned a malady, of which he soon died. We see proof whereon to found a reasonable belief that his brother Philip never would have begun that war, which desolated the colonies, and ended in his own death and the annihilation of several tribes, but for the insults and encroachments of those whom his father had cherished. Miantonomo, the high-spirited chief of the Narragansets, was put to death at the instigation of the colonists, or at least with their consent and approbation. Canonchet, his son, was slaughtered in cold blood, being a prisoner of war. Aspinet, who returned good for evil, nevertheless came to a causeless death by English hands, and Jyanough, "the Courteous Sachem of Cummaquid," perished in like manner. "Insulted, threatened, pursued by an enemy whom no restitution could satisfy, and who sus-

pected equally his caresses and fears, he fled in consternation, and died in despair." A yet more revolting feature of the picture is the cruelty of the invaders, who put their captives to death or sold them into remediless slavery.

It tells well for the author of this work, that he looks on such things as he ought. With him injustice is injustice, and murder is murder, by whomsoever committed. He seems to have a very clear conception of character, and has perspicuously defined individual differences of it. We never before had so definite a conception of the *bonhomme* of Massasoit, the haughty Miantonomo, the fiery Canonchet, the selfish and crafty Uncas, or the far-seeing Pontiac. He has given his veritable materials a good deal of the interest of romance. His tale of general oppression and barbarity is often enlivened by interesting description, and by traits of heroism and genius. We would especially instance his history of the Five Nations as the best extant, and as having as much attraction as the best popular tales, even for the general reader.

We trust that we shall not incur the suspicion of what we most abhor, that is, of premeditated *puffery*, if we add to the catalogue of the merits of this work. It has evidently been carefully written, a rare merit in an age like this, when books succeed each other so rapidly as to suggest the belief that a patent has been taken out for some machine to manufacture them. To be sure, their quality is such as might be expected. Mr. Thatcher has not conformed to the prevailing fashion, for which we thank him heartily. He has done the best the case permitted, to make his book perfect. He appears to have had an unlimited access to books. We believe he has quoted some hundreds of authorities. No fact has escaped him. We have ourselves entered rather deeply into the study of his subject, and have, therefore, some right to judge.

We do not complain of this work because it does not enter into minute details. We consider excessive minuteness a blemish, unless in a work of mere reference. Perhaps the "Indian Biography" might have suited some persons better, had they contained all the Indian treaties ever made, and all the things ever said by or of the Indians; but if they had, they would not have been so useful, so agreeable, or so much read, as doubtless they will be. The author has search-

ed all authorities, and has given us all the strong ascertained points of the histories of the tribes he describes, leaving unimportant matters unnoticed. In a word, he has collected all that was worth preserving in the old historians, and has made a continuous, interesting history, of materials which appeared like useless, disjointed lumber, in such hands as Mather's and Hubbard's. He has selected and arranged them well. We could wish, indeed, that he had so enlarged his work as to include what is known of the Natches, who were probably the most civilized Indians within the present limits of the United States. And we do not think he would have subtracted from its value by inserting some notice of the Choctaws and Creeks, the most wronged races at present within the federal jurisdiction. We are also much tempted to wish that its publication had been deferred a few weeks longer, so that it might have compassed the life and achievements of the present "Lion of the West," Black Hawk. He certainly deserves a place among the knights of the Indian Round Table.

The style of this book has been carefully studied. Of course it is good. It is concise and spirited. As to invention, there can be little in such a work; much would be a blemish. The only part of it that savours of this quality, is the life of the celebrated Prophet, brother of Tecumseh. It is probably known to some of our readers, that after his failure at Tippecanoe, this personage passed for an idiot with the whites. Mr. Thatcher thinks this opinion a fallacy, and considers the Prophet's whole conduct, and his assumption of the gift of inspiration, as the results of a deep laid scheme of policy. His theory is not susceptible of proof; but he supports it by several very ingenious arguments, which, if not conclusive, are at least quite plausible. As to the rest, whatever remarks the author appends to his text are pertinent. The volumes are well written throughout, and may be considered an acquisition to our literature. We particularly recommend to the notice of our readers the biographies of King Philip, Pontiac, Tecumseh, and a very spirited life of Red Jacket. A specimen or two of Mr. Thatcher's pleasant manner of telling an Indian story, we will now present to them. The following is an account of a *trade* between Powhatan and Captains Newport and Smith.

"Newport, it seems, had brought with him a variety of articles for a barter commerce, — such as he supposed would command a high price in corn. And accordingly the Powhatans, generally of the lower class, traded eagerly with him and his men. These, however, were not profitable customers; they dealt upon a small scale; they had not much corn to spare. It was an object therefore to drive a trade with the emperor himself. But this he affected to decline and despise. 'Captain Newport,' said he, 'it is not agreeable to my greatness to truck in this peddling manner for trifles. I am a great Werowance,\* and I esteem you the same. Therefore lay me down all your commodities together; what I like I will take, and in return you shall have what I conceive to be a fair value.' This proposal was interpreted to Newport by Smith, who informed him at the same time of the hazard he must incur in accepting it. But Newport was a vain man, and confidently expected either to dazzle the emperor with his ostentation, or overcome him with his bounty, so as to gain any request he might make. The event unluckily proved otherwise. Powhatan, after coolly selecting such of Newport's goods as he liked best, valued his own corn at such a rate, that Smith says it might as well have been purchased in old Spain; they received scarcely four bushels, where they had counted upon twenty hogsheads.

"It was now Smith's turn to try his skill; and he made his experiment, more wisely than his comrade, not upon the sagacity of the emperor, but upon his simplicity. He took out various toys and gewgaws, as it were accidentally, and contrived, by glancing them dexterously in the light, to show them to great advantage. It was not long before Powhatan fixed his observing eye upon a string of brilliant blue beads. Presently he became importunate to obtain them. But Smith was very unwilling to part with these precious gems; they being, as he observed, composed of a most rare substance, of the color of the skies, and fit to be worn only by the greatest kings in the world. The savage grew more and more eager to own such jewels, so that finally a bargain was struck, to the perfect satisfaction of all parties, whereby Smith obtained between two and three hundred bushels of corn for a pound or two of blue beads. A similar negotiation was immediately after effected with Opechancanough at Pamunkey. He was furnished with a quantity of this invaluable jewelry at very nearly the same price; and thus the beads grew into such estimation among the Indians far and near, that none but the great werowances,

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\*A Powhatan term of general signification, answering to the Northern *Sachem*, the *Basheba* of Maine, and the English *Chief*."

and their wives and children, dared to be seen wearing them. They were imperial symbols of enormous value." — pp 25, 26.

The stratagem by which Powhatan was deprived of his daughter, the celebrated Pocahontas, who afterwards married Mr. John Rolfe, is thus related.

"Peace was finally effected with Powhatan through the intervention, or rather by the mere medium of Pocahontas, in the following manner. Early in 1613,\* two ships arrived at Jamestown with supplies for the colony. These being insufficient, Captain Argall, who commanded one of them, was sent up the Potomac river to trade with the natives for corn. Here Argall formed a particular acquaintance with *Japazaws*, the chief sachem of the Potomacs or Patawomekes, and always a staunch friend of the English. He informed the captain, among other things, that Pocahontas was at this time in his territories, and not far distant, keeping herself in seclusion, and known only to a few trusty friends. What were the reasons which induced her thus to forsake her father's dominions for a foreigner's, does not appear. Stith supposes it was to withdraw herself from being a witness of the frequent butcheries of the English, whose folly and rashness, after Smith's departure, put it out of her power to save them. And very probably, as a later historian suggests,† she had already incurred the displeasure of the emperor by these repeated and futile, though highly honorable attempts.

"But whatever her motives might be, Argall had no sooner received intelligence of her situation, than he resolved on obtaining possession of her person, as a means — which he had no doubt the colony would thank him for — of effecting a peace with Powhatan. *Japazaws* seems to have been a well-meaning and honest fellow in general; but the temptation of a large, new copper kettle, which Argall held out before him as the promised recompense for his aid and abettance in the case, — the consideration of the praiseworthy object proposed to be accomplished by the measure, — and last, though not least of all, the captain's pledge that Pocahontas should not be harmed while in *his* custody, were sufficient to overcome his scruples. The next thing in order was to induce the princess, — as this amiable and talented Indian female has generally been styled — to go on board Argall's boat. To that end, *Japazaws*, who

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\* This date is mentioned by all the Virginian historians; but Prince, in his 'Annals,' says that the voyage took place a year afterwards. Belknap (Am. Biog.) is of the same opinion."

† Burk's History of Virginia, Vol. I. p. 167.

had himself seen many of the English vessels before this, induced his wife to affect an extreme curiosity upon the subject, so intolerably importunate that he finally threatened to beat her. The good woman on the other hand actually accomplished a few tears. This happened in the presence of Pocahontas, and the scene was frequently repeated, until at last Japazaws, affecting to be subdued by the manifest affliction of his wife, reluctantly gave her permission to visit the vessel, provided that Pocahontas would have the politeness to go with her.

"The princess, always complaisant, and unable to witness any longer the apparent distress of her kind friend and hostess, consented to go on board the ship. There they were civilly welcomed, and first entertained in the cabin. The captain then found an opportunity to decoy Pocahontas into the gun-room, on pretence of conferring there with Japazaws, but really because the kind-hearted Sachem, who had received ere this the brilliant wages of his sin, and began perhaps to relent, was unwilling to be known by the princess to have been concerned in the plot against her liberty. When Argall told her, in his presence, that she must go with him to the colony, and compound a peace between her father and the English, she wept indeed in the bitterness of her soul; as for Japazaws and his wife, they absolutely howled with inconsolable and inconceivable affliction. But the princess recovered her composure on finding herself treated with kindness; and while she turned her face towards the English colony, (which she had not seen since Smith's departure) with something even like cheerfulness at the prospect of doing good, her distressed guardian and his pliant spouse, with their copper kettle filled with toys, trudged merrily back to their own wigwam." — Vol. I. pp. 42-44.

The security which the truly Christian principles and conduct of that lover of freedom, truth, and peace, Roger Williams, procured for him, in the midst of the desolations of King Philip's war, is recorded in the following terms.

"The manner in which the Narraghansett Sachems treated Roger Williams, at this period, amid all the excitement of suffering on the one side and success on the other, is worthy of everlasting remembrance. That gentleman was one of the few English who remained at Providence, exposed to the full torrent of war, and with no other security than such as he attributed to long acquaintance, friendship, and good faith, with those who were now become the inveterate enemies, and were openly calculating upon the utter extermination, of his race. He had even the hardihood to reproach some of the Sachems



who frequently came to converse with him, for their cruelties ; and to threaten them with the sure, though it might be lingering vengeance of the English. 'Massachusetts,' said he, 'can raise thousands of men at this moment ; and if you kill them, the King of England will supply their place as fast as they fall.' 'Well !' answered one of the chieftains, 'let them come. We are ready for them. — But as for you, — Brother Williams, — you are a good man, — you have been kind to us many years, — not a hair of your head shall be touched.' This noble pledge, bearing upon the face of it the mark of the chivalrous spirit of Canonchet, was regarded throughout the war with the most sacred fidelity. It was not in vain that the young Sachem remembered the warm affection which his father had entertained for his English neighbour and confidant." — Vol. I. p. 309.

We hope that this "Indian Biography" may attain extensive circulation in the Western and Southern sections of the Union, as it cannot fail to be useful there. It will give the people authentic accounts of events concerning which they have hitherto been obliged to rely in a great measure on tradition and hearsay ; and may, perhaps, teach them more humanity than they are wont to display in their intercourse with Indians. If we cannot but regard our fathers' treatment of their red neighbours with disapprobation, they certainly will not withhold their blame, for the mote in our brother's eye always appears a beam to ourselves. Thus those of them who have treated the Cherokees or Saques with rigor may be made to see the exceeding ugliness of their conduct, and peradventure, to change it. There are many serious persons who are of opinion that there is ample room for improvement.

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ART. X. — *Cheering Views of Man and Providence, drawn from a Consideration of the Origin, Uses, and Remedies of Evil.* By WARREN BURTON. Boston. Carter, Hendee, & Co., 1832. 12mo. pp. xii and 264.

THIS book was evidently written, as intimated in the Preface, after much thought, and but little reading, on the important and deeply interesting topics discussed. The consequence is, as might have been expected, that the au-

thor, though he cannot be said to advance much that is absolutely new, writes generally, even in the inculcation of long established principles, with the freshness and earnestness of an original discoverer. Original, doubtless, many of these principles are to him, as he has found them not in books, but in his own thoughts and observations; so that, as he himself suggests, his testimony in their favor should be regarded as that of an independent witness. We do not believe in the tenableness of all his positions, nor in the conclusiveness of all his reasonings; but we admire in many respects the spirit of the treatise, and think that it can hardly be read by any one, without promoting in him two virtues much needed in this world, patience and charity.

Mr. Burton begins with that fruitful topic the sources of human misery; he then considers the nature and conditions of happiness, and the means by which it may be and is promoted among mankind; afterwards, he takes up the great subject of EVIL, much of which he traces to the changeableness of matter; and aims to show that most of those wants, propensities, and excesses, which are often regarded as purely evil, are necessary to the present constitution of things, and the occasions of exceeding good. Having established these principles, as he conceives, by arguments drawn from a study of nature, he next investigates the history of God's miraculous dispensations, beginning in the garden of Eden, and ending with the establishment of Christianity and in the history of all these dispensations he thinks he finds a full and perfect confirmation of his theory. This theory is, that evil, both physical and moral, is the inevitable result of the great arrangement of things,—one of the great contrivances of the universe whose end is happiness, universal and everlasting.

One or two extracts will help our readers to form an opinion of the merits and defects of this work. Mr. Burton's views of war are thus expressed:

“The mightier conflicts of nations in war have not been without a similar tendency. I am not entering into a defence of war; I am simply showing how Providence ordains good from events deemed most calamitous. The occasions of arms may be truly insignificant,—a strip of land or a trifle in trade; a king's wrath or a woman's petulance; but the consequences are mighty in the great system of human progress and destiny.

"Contemplate this country ; would she have been thus great in very youth, had it not been for the grasping avarice of another, rousing her own self-regard into effort and enterprise which have at length transformed a little one to a giant ? Have not the nations of Europe battled each other into strength ? I know that lands have been laid waste, and millions have perished by the weapons of war. So the reaped field is a waste, and the stalks and the straws of tillage mingle with the dust ; but the grain has been saved to furnish nutriment for the present, and the seeds of nutriment for countless generations to come. Just so it has been in war. Although devastation and death have been wide and dreadful, yet at the same time intellect has been quickened, science has been advanced, the elements of literature accumulated, and thoughts and sentiments generated, which perish not, which become a portion of mind here, and of memory for ever." — pp. 96, 97.

"Call me not an advocate of war, because I state the fact, that some of man's primary lessons have been written in blood, engraven on his pained nature by the destroyer's steel and fire. The ages of ignorance, of mental supineness, and of tasking necessity are going by. The era of peace, I trust has come. Its gentle auspices are blessing my own beloved land. As the great conflicts for freedom shall one by one happily cease, civilized Europe will be gladdened by the same. It may be centuries, however, before all in the tumultuous world shall beat the iron of war into the implements of quiet art. But centuries are as hours, a thousand years are as yesterday, when we take our stand, as it were, beside the throne of Providence, and look down, though but dimly, in company with that All-seeing One who measures the grand march of humanity by millions of our longest circles of duration." — p. 99.

Speaking of the influence of religion in the formation of conscience he says:

"The belief in supernatural power has prevailed from the earliest ages of the world. Among the heathen, this power has been as it were broken into fragments, divided among thousands, whose characters although above human nature, still possessed its attributes and its vices. The pagan deities, nevertheless, were supposed to punish the violation of justice between man and man, in some degree at least. The sentiment of right and wrong, even with them, must have been strengthened by the thought that there were innumerable invisible eyes taking note of actions to be rewarded or punished in this life, and perhaps more severely and lastingly in the imagined future.

"If so with believers in many and imperfect divinities, how much more deeply must these sentiments be impressed under Christian teaching. I believe that the difference between the morals of the Christian world and the Pagan, is owing principally to the more intense and comprehensive fear of a supernatural, invisible government in the former. To the subject of evangelical instruction, these scattered energies are all gathered into One infinite might, which created and controls the universe and all therein; and can continue all, or destroy all, with a single effort of one undivided will. The many eyes dispersed through creation, perhaps to behold, but possibly to be absent, or unnoticing, are gathered into one all-embracing vision which notices not only flagrant acts, but the least deviation from rectitude, and the minutest shades of character; which numbers and weighs the very thoughts and feelings and motives of the mind, even those which are just starting into existence in the inmost recesses of the soul. This fear of the One Infinite Deity I believe to be the principal and all-important restraint to unjust actions, and in fact to all courses of conduct that are injurious to man, either in his private or social condition. If all do not possess it, the majority do, sufficiently to form a sentiment so strong and generally prevalent, that the few are withheld by the fear of human indignation and abhorrence, if not by the fear of God." — pp. 106, 107.

We give one more extract, too characteristic of our author to be omitted:

"A new era is now dawning upon the Christian world. As intellect advances and the philosophy of Scripture is understood, sense ceases to be the medium, and imagination the messenger, of religious communication to the soul. The fires of a material hell are going out. Men are beginning to see no punishments in the future but such as are in the very constitution of things; and the natural chain of cause and effect is found never to be wrath-heated. Hitherto ministers of the gospel have confined themselves to certain topics that have been dwelt on for centuries, and which the prejudices of their profession and of people in general have deemed the only topics proper for the pulpit. They have used over and over again, as did their professional ancestors, certain standing phrases which were hallowed in the associations of an audience by a scriptural origin and long usage. Like the priests of old, they have kept away the spirits of evil by consecrated formulas and charmed words. But to the better class of minds such ministrations are beginning to be a nausea to the taste, or opiates for sleep.

If men go church-ward to spend their time thus unpleasantly or profitlessly, it is because they think the support of religious institutions important to the welfare of society. But if their regard to public good is not particularly exciting, they stay at home where they may find food and satisfaction to their minds. Many deem this indifference, distaste, and neglect an indication that religion is declining. But the truth is, they prove the natural and healthy progress of society. They give warning that the preacher must progress with it, or his former hearers instead of longer *stooping* to listen, will stand permanently upright, with their faces onward and upward as they have begun to set them, disregarding his reiterated common-places altogether. These remarks apply not to all. Many of the clergy are suiting themselves to the new wants of the time as fast as the prejudices of the weaker members of a many-minded, many-hearted congregation will permit. They are elevating their hearers by teaching them the philosophy of their natures. They are leading them to contemplate how fearfully and wonderfully they are made, not through vague poetry, and with unstable sentiment, but through the clear medium and with the distinctness of unwavering reason. The human mind is thus revealed to itself as more worthy to be considered than moon or stars or any other work of the creative finger. It is felt to be the offspring of Divine inspiration, and in image of the Most High, to possess a glory set above the heavens.\* If such be the teaching of appointed and venerated lips to auditors who cannot but admire the beauty and bow beneath the sublimity of the outward universe, it will be strange, it will be contrary to their nature, if they do not honor and exalt that more beautiful and sublime creation within them, for which this outward universe was so perfectly and wonderfully made." — pp. 203 — 205.

We did not sit down to give a formal review of this volume, or to expose what we conceive to be its weak points. Before closing this short notice, however, we must be permitted to suggest a few cautions to those who are fond of speculating on "the philosophy of evil." The common aphorism, "Whatever is, is right," like aphorisms generally, is neither true nor safe, in any natural or common construction of the terms. There seems to be no occasion for lessening the aversion and abhorrence with which mankind, at the present day, are disposed to regard the acknowledged *vices*

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\* \* 8th Psalm."

of individuals or whole communities. We had better not cultivate a charity for other men's faults on principles which will lead us to be equally charitable to our own. What is most wanted, at least in the moral world, is not a knowledge of the origin and uses of evil, but the application of its remedies.

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ART. XI. — 1. *Unitarians entitled to the Name of Christians.*

*A Sermon, preached in Mill-Hill Chapel, October 30, 1831. To which is added a Letter to the Rev. R. W. Hamilton, animadverting on some Passages in his "Address to the Constituents of Airedale College."* By JOSEPH HUTTON, LL. D. London, 1831. 8vo. pp. 45.

2. *The Religionists, designating themselves Unitarians, not entitled to the Christian Name. Being a Reply to a Sermon preached in Mill-Hill Chapel, Leeds; denominated "Unitarians entitled to the Name of Christians. By Joseph Hutton, LL. D." And a Defence of the Author from Charges in the Letter appended to that Sermon, founded on certain Passages in his "Address to the Constituents of Airedale College."* By RICHARD WINTER HAMILTON, Minister of Albion Chapel, Leeds. London, 1831. 8vo. pp. 127.
3. *Unitarian Christianity Vindicated; in Four Letters, addressed to the Rev. R. W. Hamilton, in Reply to his Pamphlet denominated, "The Religionists, designating themselves Unitarians, not entitled to the Christian Name."* By JOSEPH HUTTON, LL. D. London, 1832. 8vo. pp. 144.
4. *Animadversions upon the Rev. Dr. Hutton's Pamphlet, entitled "Unitarian Christianity Vindicated."* By RICHARD WINTER HAMILTON. London, 1832. 8vo. pp. 76.
5. *A Brief Notice of the Rev. R. W. Hamilton's "Animadversions upon the Rev. Dr. Hutton's Pamphlet, entitled 'Unitarian Christianity Vindicated.'"* 8vo.

THE Leeds Controversy in England, which has called forth the pamphlets above mentioned, originated in some aspersions which Mr. Hamilton, a Baptist Minister of that

place, saw fit, in a printed "Address to the Constituents of Airedale College," to cast on the Unitarian body. After giving in the Address a brief history of Dissenting Academies, he had subjoined in a note these words: "The Author has not referred to the self-styled Unitarian academies. He confines himself to Christianity. Such could, therefore, have no more claim to a place in this catalogue than a school of Confucius in China, or the College of Dervishes in Ispahan." Not satisfied with unchristianizing Unitarians in this summary and insulting manner, he had, in another passage, impeached their character as men of integrity and honor, and, alluding, it is understood, to the conduct of Lady Hewley's trustees, had pronounced them, in terms and without discrimination, guilty of "rapine" and "felony."

We admire the clearness, ability, and Christian spirit, with which Dr. Hutton repels these atrocious charges. His "Sermon," which we are happy to find has been published by the American Unitarian Association in their series of tracts, contains an unanswerable defence of the position, that all who as disciples submit themselves in good faith to the instructions of Christ as a Teacher come from God, are entitled to the name of Christian. In the "Letter" appended to the "Sermon," and in the "Four Letters" afterwards addressed to Mr. Hamilton, he pursues that writer with great acuteness, somewhat playful and keen at times, but always urbane and forbearing, through all his ill-digested and passionate declamation, and proves the imputations which he had attempted to fasten on Unitarians indiscriminately, to be as groundless as they were unprovoked and wanton. Mr. Hamilton in his "Reply" and "Animadversions" evinces considerable adroitness and talent, and great liveliness of imagination and command of language, but withal a flippancy and recklessness of statement, and an impertinent dogmatism, which, so far as we are at liberty to make up a judgment from his publications in this controversy, bring into serious question his character, not only as a Christian, but as an honest man. Alluding to this country in his usual contemptuous manner, he is pleased to say that "republican fame is as cheap as its institutions"; but we can assure him that if any writer worth noticing amongst us should so decidedly plant himself in the kennel, and begin the work of aspersing his betters, he would be put under ban in all good society.

Much of this controversy relates, as has been intimated before, to a question of local interest merely, the bestowment of Lady Hewley's fund. Part of the proceeds of this charity, according to the terms of the bequest, is to be given to "godly ministers of Christ's holy Gospel"; and the trustees, a majority of whom happen to be Unitarians, have thought proper to give it to "godly ministers of Christ's holy Gospel" indiscriminately, whether Unitarian or Trinitarian. The legality of their conduct in this respect has been disputed, and the suit has gone into chancery, pending which it is a satisfaction to know that not a shadow of just suspicion rests on the upright and honorable intentions of our brethren in England, whether right in their understanding of the law or not. The information given in the following extract from Dr. Hutton's "Four Letters" may be of use in correcting false impressions industriously circulated in this country.

"On these charges of 'disgusting faithfulness and shameful liberality,' to use your own expressions, it would be perfectly needless for me to say a single word, to those who know any thing of the personal characters of the gentlemen whom you thus attack, and of some of whom, I should have thought, you might yourself have known, that they could not have been parties to such conduct as you impute. 'The gentlemen of Dissenting persuasions who form the body of trustees,' said Lord Brougham, in a judgment which he delivered on a part of this case, 'are some of them well known to the profession of the law as able and skilful lawyers, others as respectable inhabitants of the West-Riding of Yorkshire, who, no doubt, have acted on this, as on all other occasions, in the most conscientious manner.' 'I beg to be understood,' he likewise observed, in the course of the same judgment, 'that I am the farthest in the world from casting any censure, or forming any harsh opinion, on the conduct of those worthy persons, the trustees, or of Mr. Wellbeloved, one of the most virtuous, pious, and learned men, who, I will venture to say, adorn any church.' And what say the commissioners for inquiring concerning charities, of the conduct of these trustees, after a particular investigation of it? After a full statement of the general mode in which the affairs of the charity are conducted, and its funds applied, they thus conclude — 'and it does not appear to us, on inquiry into the administration, and examination of the books of accounts, &c. that the trusts are otherwise than duly performed, in all essential particulars, unless it is to be consid-



ered a departure from Lady Hewley's intention, that part of the revenues should be applied in favor of Dissenting ministers, who entertain and preach Socinian or Unitarian doctrines of faith, or in the allowance of stipends to the widows of such ministers, and exhibitions to students brought up in those sentiments,' &c. On this last-mentioned point the commissioners not only suggest a doubt, but also subsequently give it as their opinion that the question ought to be submitted to the decision of a court of equity. They do not, however, in any respect impeach the conduct of the trustees, or throw out the slightest suspicion of intentional malversation on their part." — pp. 98, 99.

We also give part of the answer of the Trustees themselves to the Attorney General's information, made under oath.

"These defendants say that, as trustees of the said charity, they are willing and desirous to act under the directions of this honorable court, but they humbly submit that they ought not to be removed from being trustees and managers of the said charity; for these defendants insist that they were duly appointed, according to the directions contained in the original deeds of trust of the said Dame S. Hewley, and they say that, since the periods of their appointment respectively, they have severally, conscientiously, and to the best of their ability, acted in the execution of the trusts of the said charity. — And these defendants say, that the said Dame S. Hewley did not, in the said original deeds of trust, or in her rules for the management of the said hospital, or in any other documents, to the best of their knowledge or belief, give any directions regarding the peculiar mode of belief, required to be entertained by the objects of the said charities, save that, according to the rules of the said almshouse, the alms-women are required to be of the Protestant religion; and these defendants say that, according to the best of their judgment and belief, the desire and intention of the said Dame S. Hewley, in founding the charity, was to encourage the preaching and practice of pure Christianity, without any exclusive regard either to the peculiar forms of Protestant Dissenting worship, or to the particular doctrines inculcated by the different denominations or sects of Protestant Dissenters. — And these defendants say that it hath not been their practice to inquire what were the particular personal religious opinions of the applicants for the assistance of the said charity, but that their inquiries have been always made with a view to ascertain, as to the preachers, whether they were sufficiently learned to

read and understand the holy Scriptures, and were men of such godly character and conduct, as were likely, in their lives, as well as by their preaching, to promote Christ's Holy Gospel, and were in such circumstances as to require pecuniary assistance from the said charity. — And these defendants say that so far is it from being true, as alleged in the said information, that they have shown an undue preference to the Dissenters commonly called Unitarians, that they say they have ascertained from inquiries made since the said information was filed, and they believe it to be true, that a very great majority of the preachers and widows, who receive stipends from the funds of the said charity, are what are commonly called Trinitarian Dissenters, and not what are commonly called Unitarians." — pp. 99, 100.

Dr. Hutton states his reasons at some length for rejecting the name Socinian.

"Even Lord Chancellor Brougham," he tells us, "whose studies, — wonderfully multifarious and profound as they have been, — have not probably included much of theology, has discovered that the term Socinian is generally meant to give offence, and used as a 'bad name,' which, you know, we ought not to give to any animal. 'If the question,' said he, in a judgment which he lately delivered in the Court of Chancery, and which you have probably seen, 'had been — Are you a Socinian or not — are your writings and your doctrines Socinianism or not — are your congregations persons holding Socinian opinions or not? — I could easily imagine that the Rev. Mr. Wellbeloved and others connected with him might have a great objection to giving answers to such questions, because Socinianism, or what is called the heresy of Socinus, is what no professors ought to be charged with — it is' — (here his Lordship makes a little excursion out of our English dictionary, in which you will not, I think, object to accompany him) — '*dyslogistic*, it is *vituperative* — it is *unfair* — it is not, I believe, applicable to the Unitarians, or to their doctrine, and therefore a man might object to the question, as a trap, or indeed an indignity.' We are much obliged to his Lordship for granting us the protection of the Court." — p. 56.

It is not, however, on this account that Dr. Hutton objects to the name, but because the term is not truly descriptive of that class of Unitarians who believe in the simple humanity of Jesus Christ, and is totally inapplicable to Arians. He therefore requests Mr Hamilton, if he cannot conscientiously

call us Unitarians, to invent some other appropriate appellation for the whole body of those who hold that the Father alone is the supreme God. Referring to those who believe in the simple humanity of our Lord, he adds in a note :

“I had thought of suggesting the epithet Humanitarians for this section of our body, but find that the sensitive feelings of yours might be wounded by our appropriation of it. ‘We heard a minister of some repute in Mr. Hamilton’s connexion,’ says a reviewer in the ‘Monthly Repository’ for January, ‘exclaim, “They call themselves Humanitarians, forsooth! as if every Trinitarian did not also believe in the true and proper humanity of Jesus Christ.”’ It would really seem as if all the good names were preoccupied, and our opponents would leave us none but the nick-names to make our choice from. No sooner do we express a predilection for any particular appellation, than some one cries out, ‘That’s ours’ — or, ‘We have a right to that.’ We should be under a great obligation to any one who would discover for us a good descriptive name, to which no one could urge either a claim or an objection.” — p. 61.

So then we are reduced to the necessity of advertising for a name. Perhaps we had better make a virtue of necessity, adopt the policy recommended by some of our friends, and forswear all names. Seriously, however, in our humble judgment there has been a great deal too much higgling and wrangling about names on both sides. It is not generally understood in regard to the common appellation of a party, except perhaps by the party adopting it, that it is accurately descriptive of their sentiments or practices; otherwise Mr. Hamilton’s own denomination would have again to go under the nickname, we suppose he would call it, of Anabaptists. We claim, as a sect, to be called Unitarians, or Liberal Christians, or simply Christians, on the same ground on which we are ready to call any other sect Orthodox, or Catholics, or Baptists, who choose to be thus designated. Those who, like Mr. Hamilton, have not the magnanimity or the justice or the good sense to acknowledge the force of this argument, will not probably acknowledge the force of any other.

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